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Capt. Donald Campbell

Campbell's Overland Journey to India

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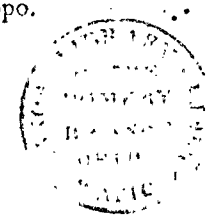

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9.	2.	For *ſhroud*, read *ſhrewd*.
24.	2.	For *le berque*, read *la barque*.
30.	3.	For *conquerous*, read *conquerors*.
40.	1.	For *berque*, read *barque*.
41.	15.	For *berque*, read *barque*.
138.	18.	For *I*, read *It*.
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156.	8.	For *Sucz*, read *Suez*.
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16.	18.	For *ſnow*, read *ſtorm*.
18.	7.	For *ports*, read *parts*.
21.	10.	For *rolling* read *bailing*.
24.	4.	After *to*, inſert *be*.
39.	2.	For *I*, read *It*.
71.	17.	For *conſcienee*, read *convent*
90.	3.	For *or*, read *for*.
108.	24.	For *one*, read *ten*.
122.	1.	For *ſhewed*, read *ſhewn*.
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JOURNEY TO INDIA, &c.

PART I

A

JOURNEY TO INDIA, &c.

LETTER I.

My dear Frederick,

The tenderneſs of a fond father's heart admoniſhes me, that I ſhould but poorly requite the affectionate ſolicitude you have ſo often expreſſed, to become acquainted with the particulars of my journey over land to India, if I any longer withheld from you an account of that ſingular and eventful period of my life. I confeſs to you, my dear boy, that often when I have endeavoured to amuſe you with the leading incidents and extraordinary viciſſitudes of fortune which chequered the whole of that ſeries of adventures, and obſerved the eager attention with which, young though you were, you liſtened to the recital, the tender ſenſibility you diſcloſed at ſome paſſages, and the earneſt deſire you

expreſſed that "I ſhould the whole relate," I have felt an almoſt irreſiſtible impulſe to indulge you with an accurate and faithful narrative, and have more than once ſat down at my bureau for the purpoſe: but ſober and deliberate reflection ſuggeſted that it was too ſoon, and that, by complying with your deſire at ſuch a very early period of your life, I ſhould but render the great end that I propoſed by it abortive, fruſtrate the inſtruction which I meant to convey, and impreſs the mere incident on your memory, while the moral deducible from it muſt neceſſarily evaporate, and leave no trace, or rather excite no idea, in a mind not ſufficiently matured for the conception of abſtract principles, or prepared by practice for the deduction of moral inferences.

I am aware that there are many people, who, contemplating only the number of your days, would conſider my undertaking this arduous taſk, and offering it to your reflection, even now, premature: but this is a ſubject on which I have ſo long and ſo deliberately dwelt, which I have diſcuſſed with ſo much care, and examined with ſuch impartiality, that I think I may be acquitted of vanity, though I ſay I am competent to form a judgment on it. The reſult of that judgment is, that I am determined to indulge you without further delay; and I truſt that you will not, on your part, render it an empty indulgence, but, on the contrary, by turning every circumſtance to its beſt uſe, by converting every feeling which theſe pages may excite in your heart into matter of ſerious reflection, and by making every

event

event (as it happens to deſerve) an example to promote either emulation on the one hand, or circumſpection and caution on the other, juſtify me in that opinion of you on which I found this determination.

I remember, that when, at an early age, I entered upon that ſtage of claſſical education at which you are now, at an earlier age, arrived---I mean, the Æneid---I was not only captivated with the beautiful ſtory of the Hero, in the ſecond Book, but drew certain inferences from parts of it, which I ſhall never forget, and which afterwards ſerved to give a direction to the growth of my ſentiments on occaſions of a ſimilar nature: above all, the filial piety of Æneas made a deep impreſſion on my mind, and, by imperceptibly exciting an emulation in my boſom, augmented conſiderably the natural warmth of my affection and reſpect for my father. It is under the recollection of this ſenſation, and a firm perſuaſion that your heart is fully as ſuſceptible of every tender impreſſion, and your underſtanding as fit for the reception of uſeful hiſtory, as mine was then, that I overlook your extreme youth, and write to you as though you were an adult. If there be a thing on earth of which I can boaſt a perfect knowledge, it is my FREDERICK's heart: it has been the object of my uninterrupted ſtudy almoſt ſince it was firſt capable of manifeſting a ſenſation; and, if I am not very much miſtaken in it indeed, the lively intereſt he feels in the occurrences of his father's life, is the reſult, not of idle curioſity, but unbounded filial affection. Such an amiable

motive ſhall not be diſappointed in its end; and while I diſcharge the duty of a parent in gratifying it, I ſhall be encouraged and ſuſtained under my labours by the ſanguine expectation, that he will derive from my exertions the moſt ſolid advantages in his future progreſs through life. As thoſe advantages are expected alſo to extend to my dear boy JOHN, whoſe tender years diſqualify him from making the ſame immediate reflections on the various ſubjects as they occur, my FREDERICK will perceive that it becomes his duty, not only as a good ſon, but as an affectionate brother, to aſſiſt and enforce them upon his mind, to explain to him the difficulties, and furniſh him with his reaſonings and inferences on them, ſo as that they may make, as nearly as poſſible, equal impreſſions on the heart and underſtanding of both.

" Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum :"

And though few have the felicity to be warned by other men's misfortunes or faults, becauſe they ſeldom make deep impreſſions on their feelings, I am convinced that my ſufferings and errors, as they will intereſt my FREDERICK's heart, and gratify his curioſity, cannot fail to enlarge his underſtanding, and improve his conduct.

I am my dear FREDERICK's, *&c.*

D. C.

LETTER

LETTER II.

HAVING, in compliance with your reiterated ſolicitations, determined to give you a narrative of my journey to the Eaſt Indies, and the ſingular turns of fortune which befel me there, I think it neceſſary, on reflection, to prepare you ſtill further for the reception of it, by propoſing certain terms to be fulfilled on your part; and as, in my laſt, I told you that I expected you, and, with your aſſiſtance, your brother, to turn my relation to a more uſeful account than the gratification of mere idle curioſity, by letting the moral deducible from my errors and misfortunes ſtrike deep and take root in your mind---ſo there are other things, which, though not ſo extremely important, are too weighty to be neglected; to which I deſire to direct your attention.

I believe you muſt have already perceived, that the wellbeing of yourſelf and your brother is my firſt---I might, perhaps, without treſpaſſing much upon truth, ſay, my only object in life; that, to the care of your education, and the cultivation of your mind, I excluſively devote my time and my thoughts; and that, to inſure your future happineſs, I would ſacrifice every thing. I have

have a right to diſpoſe of, and riſk even life itſelf. The time, I truſt, is not far diſtant, when your brother will be as well qualified to underſtand this as you are now---when both will feel alike the important duty it enforces on you---and when your only emulation will be, who ſhall produce the moſt luxuriant harveſt to reward the labours I have taken---to reward yourſelves.

In order, therefore, on my part, to give every thing I do a tendency to the great object of my wiſhes, and induce you, on your's, to contribute your ſhare to it, I ſhall give you, as I proceed in my narrative, a topographical deſcription of the various Countries through which I ſhall have occaſion to conduct you, and, as conciſely as may be, an account of their manners, policy, and municipal inſtitutions, ſo far as I have been able to collect them; which I hope will ſerve to awaken in you a thirſt for thoſe indiſpenſable parts of polite education, Geography and Hiſtory. I expect that you will carefully attend to thoſe ſciences, and that you will not ſuffer yourſelf, as you read my Letters, to be carried away by the rapid ſtream of idle curioſity from incident to incident, without time or diſpoſition for reflection: you muſt take excurſions, as you go along, from my Letters to your Geographical Grammar and your Maps---and, when neceſſary, call in the aid of your Tutor, in order to compare my obſervations with thoſe of others on the ſame places, and by thoſe means to acquire as determinate an idea as poſſible of their local ſituation, laws, and comparative advantages, whether of Nature or Art. You will thus enable yourſelf hereafter to conſider how

Society

Society is influenced, and why ſome Communities are better directed than others.

Here I muſt obſerve to you, that as Geography is a ſcience to which rational converſation, as ſupported by Gentlemen of breeding and education, moſt frequently refers, the leaſt ignorance of it is continually liable to detection, and, when detected, ſubjects a man to the moſt mortifying ridicule and contempt.

The ingenious GEORGE ALEXANDER STEEVENS has, in his celebrated Lecture upon Heads, given a moſt ludicrous inſtance of this ſpecies of ignorance, in the character of a Citizen, who, cenſuring the incapacity of Miniſters, propoſes to carry on the War on a new plan of his own. The plan is, to put the Troops in cork jackets---ſend them, thus equipped, to ſea---and *land them in the Mediterranean:* When his companion aſks him where that place lies, he calls him *fool*, and informs him that the Mediterranean is the Capital of Conſtantinople. Thus, my dear ſon, has this ſatiriſt ridiculed ignorance in pretenders to education; and thus will every one be ridiculous who betrays a deficiency in this very indiſpenſable ingredient in forming the character of a Gentleman. But a ſtory which I heard from a perſon of ſtrict veracity, will ſerve more ſtrongly to ſhew you the ſhame attendant on ignorance of thoſe things which, from our rank, we are ſuppoſed to know; and as the fear of ſhame never fails to operate powerfully on a generous mind, I am ſure it will ſerve to alarm you into induſtry, and application to your ſtudies.

During

During the late American War, about that period when the KING of FRANCE was, ſo fatally for himſelf, though perhaps in the end it may prove fortunate for the intereſts of Mankind, manifeſting an intention to interfere and join the Americans, a worthy Alderman in Dublin, reading the newſpaper, obſerved a paragraph, intimating, that in conſequence of Britiſh cruiſers having ſtopped ſome French veſſels at ſea, and ſearched them, France had taken *umbrage!* The ſagacious Alderman, more patriotic than learned, took the alarm, and proceeded, with the paper in his hand, directly to a brother of the Board, and, with unfeigned ſorrow, deplored the loſs his Country had ſuſtained, in having a place of ſuch conſequence as UMBRAGE raviſhed from it!---deſiring, of all things, to be informed in what part of the world *Umbrage* lay. To this the other, after a torrent of invective againſt Miniſters, and condolence with his afflicted friend, anſwered that he was utterly unable to tell him, but that he had often heard it mentioned, and of courſe conceived it to be a place of great importance; at the ſame time propoſing that they ſhould go to a neighbouring Bookſeller, who, as he dealt in Books, muſt neceſſarily know every thing, in order to have this gordian knot untied. They accordingly went; and having propounded the queſtion, "what part of the globe *Umbrage* lay in?" the Bookſeller took a Gazetteer, and, having ſearched it diligently, declared that he could not find it, and ſaid he was almoſt ſure there was no ſuch place in exiſtence. To this the two Aldermen, with a contemptuous ſneer, anſwered

by

by triumphantly reading the paragraph out of the newſpaper. The Bookſeller, who was a ſhroud fellow, and, like moſt of his Countrymen, delighted in a jeſt, gravely replied, that the Gazetteer being an old edition, he could not anſwer for it, but that he ſuppoſed *Umbrage* lay ſomewhere on the coaſt of America. With this the wiſe Magiſtrates returned home, partly ſatisfied: but what words can expreſs their chagrin when they found their error---that the unlucky Bookſeller had ſpread the ſtory over the City---that the newſpapers were filled with ſatirical ſquibs upon it---nay, that a caracature print of themſelves leading the City-watch to the *retaking of Umbrage*, was ſtuck up in every ſhop---and finally, that they could ſcarcely (albeit Aldermen) walk the ſtreets, without having the populace ſneer at them about the *taking* of *Umbrage!*

Thus, my child, will every one be more or leſs ridiculous who appears obviouſly ignorant of thoſe things which, from the rank he holds in life, he ſhould be expected to know, or to the knowledge of which vanity or petulance may tempt him to pretend.

I am ſure I need not ſay more to you on this ſubject; for I think you love me too well to diſappoint me in the firſt wiſh of my heart, and I believe you have too much manly pride to ſuffer ſo degrading a defect as indolence to expoſe you hereafter to animadverſion or contempt. Remember, that as nothing in this life, however trivial or worthleſs, is to be procured without labour---ſo, above all others, the weighty and invaluable treaſures of erudition are only

to be acquired by exertions vigorouſly made and unremittingly continued.

" Quid munus Reipublicæ majus aut melius afferre poſſumus " quam ſi juventutem bene erudiamus."---Thus ſaid the matchleſs TULLY. If, then, the education of youth intereſts ſo very deeply a State, can it leſs powerfully intereſt him who ſtands in the two-fold connection of a Citizen and Parent? It is the lively anxiety of my mind, on this point, that obliges me to procraſtinate the commencement of my narrative to another Letter, and induces me to entreat that you will, in the mean time, give this the conſideration it deſerves, and prepare your mind to follow its inſtructions.

LETTER III.

A VARIETY of unpropitious circumſtances gave riſe to my journey to the Eaſt Indies, while domeſtic calamity marked my departure, and, at the very outſet, gave me a foretaſte of thoſe miſeries which Fate had reſerved to let fall upon me in the ſequel. The channels from which I drew the means of ſupporting my family in that ſtyle which their rank and connections obliged them to maintain, were clogged by a coincidence of events as unlucky

unlucky as unexpected: the War in India had interrupted the regular remittance of my property from thence: a ſevere ſhock which unbounded generoſity and beneficence had given to the affairs of my father, rendered him incapable of maintaining his uſual punctuality in the payment of the income he had aſſigned me; and, to crown the whole, I had been deprived, by death, of two lovely children (your brother and ſiſter), whom I loved not leſs than I have ſince loved you and your brother.

It was under the preſſure of thoſe accumulated afflictions, aggravated by the goading thought of leaving my family for ſuch a length of time as muſt neceſſarily elapſe before I could again ſee them, that I ſet out for India in the month of May, in the year 1781, with a heart overwhelmed with woe, and too ſurely predictive of misfortunes.

From the gloomy cave of depreſſion in which my mind was ſunk, I looked forward, to ſeek, in the future, a gleam of comfort ---but in vain: not a ray appeared---Melancholy had thrown her ſombre ſhadow on the whole. Even preſent affliction yielded up a ſhare of my heart to an unaccountable diſmal preſentiment of future ill; and the diſaſters and diſappointments I had paſſed, were loſt and forgotten in ominous forebodings and inſtinctive preſages of thoſe that were to come.

Of all the weakneſſes to which the human mind is ſubject, ſuperſtition is that againſt which I would have you guard with the utmoſt vigilance. It is the moſt incurable canker of the mind.

Under its unrelenting dominion, happineſs withers, the underſtanding becomes obſcured, and every principle of joy is blaſted. For this reaſon I wiſh to account for thoſe preſages, by referring them to their true phyſical cauſes, in order thereby to prevent your young mind from receiving, from what I have written, any injurious impreſſion, or ſuperſtitious idea of *preſentiment*, as it is faſhionably denominated.

If the mind of Man be examined, it will be found naturally prone to the contemplation of the future---its flights from hope to hope, or fear to fear, leading it inſenſibly from objects preſent and in poſſeſſion, to thoſe remote and in expectation---from poſitive good to ſuppoſitious better, or from actual melancholy to imaginary misfortune. In theſe caſes, the mind never fails to ſee the proſpect in colours derived from the medium through which it is viewed and exaggerated by the magnifying power of fancy. Thus my mind, labouring under all the uneaſineſs I have deſcribed, ſaw every thing through the gloomy medium of melancholy, and, looking forward, foreboded nothing but misfortune: accident afterwards fulfilled thoſe forebodings; but accident, nay, the moſt trifling change of circumſtances, might poſſibly have ſo totally changed the face of my ſubſequent progreſs, that good fortune, inſtead of miſadventure, might have been my lot, and ſo all my foreboding been as illuſory and fallible as all ſuch phantoms of the imagination really are. Thus I argue now---and I am ſure I argue truly; but if reaſon be not timely called in, and made, as it were,

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an habitual inmate, it avails but little againſt the overbearing force of ſuperſtition, who, when ſhe once gets poſſeſſion of the mind, holds her ſeat with unrelenting tenacity, and, calling in a whole hoſt of horrors, with deſpair at their head, to her aid, entrenches herſelf behind their formidable powers, and bids defiance to the aſſaults of reaſon.

Thus it fared with me---Under the dominion of gloomy preſentiment, I left London; and my journey down to Margate, where I was to take ſhipping, was, as SHAKSPEARE emphatically ſays, "a phantaſm, or a hideous dream---and my little ſtate of "Man ſuffered, as it were, the nature of an inſurrection:"--- the chaos within me forbade even the approach of diſcriminate reflection; and I found myſelf on board the Packet, bound to Oſtend, without having a ſingle trace left upon my mind, of the intermediate ſtages and incidents that happened ſince I had left London.

It has been obſerved---and I wiſh you always to carry it in memory, as one of the beſt conſolations under affliction---that human ſufferings, like all other things, find their vital principle exhauſted, and their extinction accelerated, by overgrowth; and that, at the moment when Man thinks himſelf moſt miſerable, a benignant Providence is preparing relief, in ſome form or other, for him. So it, in ſome ſort, happened with me; for I was fortunate enough to find in the Packet a fellow-paſſenger, whoſe valuable converſation and agreeable manners beguiled me inſenſibly

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of the gloomy contemplation in which I was abſorbed, and afforded my tortured mind a temporary ſuſpenſion of pain. This Gentleman was General LOCKHART: he was going to Bruſſels, to pay his court to the Emperor JOSEPH the Second, who was then ſhortly expected in the Low Countries, in order to go through the ceremonies of his Inauguration. As Bruſſels lay in my way, I was flattered with the hopes of having for a companion a Gentleman at once ſo pleaſing in his manners and reſpectable in his character, and was much comforted when I found him as much diſpoſed as myſelf to an agreement to travel the whole of the way thither together. Thus, though far, very far from a ſtate of eaſe, I was, when landing at Oſtend, at leaſt leſs miſerable than at my coming on board the Packet.

As this Letter is already ſpun to a length too great to admit of any material part of the deſcription I am now to give you of Oſtend, and the Country to which it belongs, I think it better to poſtpone it to my next, which I mean to devote entirely to that ſubject, and thereby avoid the confuſion that ariſes from mixing two ſubjects in the ſame Letter, or breaking off the thread of one in order to make way for the other.

Adieu, my dear boy!---Forget not your brother JOHN. That you may both be good and happy, is all the wiſh now left to, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

THAT Country to which I am now to call your attention---I mean, the Netherlands---is marked by a greater number of political changes, and harraſſed by a more continued train of military operations, than perhaps any Country in the records of Modern Hiſtory. It may truly be called the Cockpit Royal of Europe, on which Tyrants, as ambition, avarice, pride, caprice, or malignity, prompted them, pitted thouſands, and hundreds of thouſands, of their fellow-creatures, to cut each other's throats about ſome point, frivolous as regarding themſelves, unimportant to Mankind, and only tending to gratify a diabolical luſt for dominion: Yet, under all theſe diſadvantages, (ſuch are the natural qualities of this Country), it has, till lately, been in a tolerably flouriſhing ſtate; and would, under good government and proper protection, equal any part of Europe for richneſs.

Flanders, Brabant, and the Country now called the United Netherlands, were in general known by the name of Netherlands, Low Countries, or Païs-bas, from their ſituation, as it is ſuppoſed, in reſpect of Germany. Anciently, they formed a part of Belgic Gaul, of which you may remember to have read an account in

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the Commentaries of JULIUS CÆSAR, who deſcribes the inhabitants as the moſt valiant of all the Gallic Nations---" Horum " omnium Belgæ ſunt fortiſſimi." They afterwards were ſubject to petty Princes, and made part of the German Empire; and, in the ſixteenth century, became ſubject to CHARLES the Fifth of the Houſe of Auſtria; but, being oppreſſed beyond endurance by his ſon, PHILIP the Second of Spain, (that blind and furious bigot), they openly revolted---flew to arms to aſſert their freedom; and, after a ſtruggle as glorious in effect as virtuous in principle---after performing prodigies of valour, and exhibiting examples of fortitude, to which none but men fighting in the Godlike Cauſe of LIBERTY are competent---led on by the wiſdom and valour of the PRINCE of ORANGE, and aſſiſted by the SOVEREIGN of GREAT BRITAIN---they at length ſo far ſucceeded, that thoſe now called the United Netherlands, entered into a ſolemn league, and forced the gloomy Tyrant to acknowledge their independence. But that part to which I am now particularly to allude, continued annexed to the Houſe of Auſtria. In 1787, they revolted, and made a temporary ſtruggle to diſengage themſelves from the dominion of the EMPEROR; but, owing to ſome cabals among themſelves, and the temperate conduct of that Prince, they again returned to their allegiance, and were rewarded with a general amneſty. In 1792, they were over-run by the French Army under General DUMOURIER---opened their arms to thoſe Republicans, and were rewarded for it by oppreſſion, tyranny, and injuſtice.

injuſtice. The French, however, were driven back out of the Country; and, wonderful to relate, they again received their old Maſter, the EMPEROR, with ſtrong demonſtrations of joy, and manifeſted their loyalty and attachment to him by every expreſſion that abject hypocriſy could ſuggeſt.

" O! how unlike their Belgic Sires of old!"

Here, could I ſtop with ſtrict juſtice, I would---But, behold! the French again came; again they opened their gates to receive them; and again they were, with tenfold fury and rapacity, pillaged, oppreſſed, and inſulted; and at the very time I am writing this, the Guillotine is doing its office---enforcing the payment of the moſt exorbitant and enormous contributions, and compelling, it is ſaid, one hundred thouſand of the ill-fated inhabitants to take the field, as ſoldiers of the Republic.

Human opinion is ſo chequered and uncertain, that two very honeſt men may in certain caſes act in direct contradiction and hoſtility to each other, with the very beſt intentions---He, therefore, muſt have but a cold heart, and a contracted underſtanding, who cannot forgive the man that acts in ſuch caſes erroneouſly, when he acts from the exact dictates of his opinion, and upon the principle which he has conſcientiouſly adopted: but when a whole People are ſeen whiſking about with every guſt of fortune, and making a new principle for every new point of convenience, we

muſt deſpiſe them even when they happen to act right, and can ſcarcely afford them ſo much as pity in their calamities. The Auſtrian Netherlands are now in that ſtate; and, without preſuming to ſay in which of their tergiverſations they were right, I will venture to pronounce that they deſerve puniſhment, and I believe they are in hands very likely to give them their due.

To return---Oſtend is a ſea-port of Auſtrian Flanders, and is ſituated in the Liberty of Bruges. It was, at one time, the ſtrongeſt town in Flanders: but a double ditch and ramparts, which conſtituted its ſtrength, are now deſtroyed; and in the place where the former ſtood, docks, or rather baſons, extremely capacious and commodious, are formed, for the reception of ſhipping. The ground about the town is very low and marſhy, and cut into a number of fine canals---into ſome of which, ſhips of the largeſt ſize may enter---and in one of which, veſſels of great burthen may ride, even cloſe to Bruges. The harbour here is ſo fortunately circumſtanced, that it was once thought, by Engineers, entirely ſecure from a blockade; and its priſtine ſtrength can in no way be ſo well deſcribed, as by a relation of the defence it made in the four firſt years of the ſeventeenth century---though, near the cloſe of the ſixteenth, it was no better than an inſignificant fiſhing town. It held out againſt the Spaniards for three years, two months and ſixteen days. Eighty thouſand men loſt their lives before it, while fifty thouſand were killed or died within. It at laſt ſurrendered, but on good terms; and not for want of men or proviſions, but

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for want of ground to ſtand on, which the enemy took from them, at an amazing loſs, ſtep by ſtep, till they had not room left for men to defend it. Three hundred thouſand cannon-balls, of thirty pounds weight each, were fired againſt it; and the beſieged often filled up the breaches made in their ramparts with heaps of dead bodies.

Such, my dear boy, are the miracles that men, animated with the all-ſubduing ſpirit of Liberty, can perform---Liberty! that immediate jewel of the ſoul---that firſt moving principle of all the animal creation---which, with equal power, influences the bird to beat the cage with its wings, and the lion to tear the bars of his impriſonment---the infant to ſpring from the tender confinement of its nurſe, and the lean and ſhrivelled pantaloon to crawl abroad, and fly the warmth and repoſe of his wholeſome chamber---Liberty! which, for centuries enthralled by artifice and fraud, or lulled into a ſlumber by the witching ſpirit of Prieſtcraft, now riſes like a giant refreſhed with wine---in its great efforts for emancipation, deſtroys and overturns ſyſtems---but, when finding no reſiſtance, and matured by time, will, I ſincerely hope, ſink appeaſed into a generous calm, and become the bleſſing, the guardian and protector of Mankind!

It is your good fortune, my dear children, to be born at a time when Liberty ſeems to be well underſtood in your own Country, and is univerſally the prevalent paſſion of men. It is almoſt needleſs, therefore, for me to exhort you to make it the groundwork

of your political morality: but let me remind you to guard, above all, againſt the deſpotiſm of certain Tyrants, to whom many of the greateſt advocates for Liberty are ſtrangely apt to ſubmit---I mean, your paſſions. Of all other Tyrants, they are the moſt ſubtle, the moſt bewitching, the moſt overbearing, and, what is worſe, the moſt cruel. Beneath the domination of other Deſpots, tranquillity may alleviate the weight of your chains, and ſoften oppreſſion; but when once you become the ſlave of your paſſions, your peace is for ever fled, and you live and die in unabating miſery.

LETTER V.

THE pride of the Engliſh is remarked all over the globe, even to a proverb! But pride is a word of ſuch dubious meaning, ſo undefined in its ſenſe, and ſtrained to ſuch various imports, that you ſhall hear it violently execrated by one, and warmly applauded by another---this denouncing it as a ſin of the firſt magnitude, and that maintaining it to be the moſt vigilant guardian of human virtue. Thoſe differences in opinion ariſe not from any defect in the intellects of either, but from each viewing the ſubject in that one point in which it firſt ſtrikes his eye, or beſt ſuits his taſte, his feeling, or his prejudices. I have no doubt, however, but a full

conſideration

conſideration of the ſubject would ſhew, that pride, as it is called, is only good or bad as the object from which it ariſes is mean or magnificent, culpable or meritorious. That noble pride which ſtimulates to extraordinary acts of generoſity and magnanimity, ſuch as, in many inſtances, has diſtinguiſhed, above all others, the Nobility of Spain, exacts the homage and admiration of Mankind: But I fear very much that our Engliſh pride is of another growth, and ſmells too rankly of that overſtrained commercial ſpirit which makes the baſis of the preſent grandeur of Great Britain, but which, in my humble judgment, raiſes only to debaſe her---by ſlow, ſubtle degrees, poiſons the national principle, enſlaves the once bold ſpirit of the People, detracts from their real ſolid felicity, and, by confounding the idea of national wealth with that of national proſperity, leads it in rapid ſtrides to its downfall. In ſhort, we are approaching, I fear, with daily accelerated ſteps, to the diſpoſition and ſordid habits of the Dutch, of whom Doctor GOLDSMITH ſo very pertinently and truly ſpeaks, when he ſays,

"Ev'n Liberty itſelf is barter'd here!"

Without leading your mind through a maze of diſquiſition on this ſubject, which might fatigue with abſtruſeneſs and prolixity, I will bring you back to the point from which the matter ſtarted, and content myſelf with remarking, that the pride of the Engliſh, ſpeaking of it as a part of the national character, is the meaneſt of all pride. The inflation of bloated, overgrown wealth, an overweening

weening affection for money, an idolatrous worſhip of gain, have abſolutely confounded the general intellect, and warped the judgment of the many to that exceſs, that, in eſtimating men or things, they refer always to "what is he worth?" or, "what will it fetch?" This ſordid habit of thinking was finely hit off by a keen fellow, the native of a neighbouring Kingdom, who, for many years, carried on buſineſs in London, and failed:---Sitting one day in a coffee-houſe in the City, where ſome wealthy Citizens were diſcuſſing a ſubject not entirely unconnected with caſh concerns, one of them obſerving him rather attentive to their converſation, turned to him, and ſaid, "What is your opinion, Sir, of the matter?"---"'s blood, Sir!" returned he, peeviſhly, "what opinion can a man have in this Country, who has not a guinea in his pocket?"

Under the influence of all the various caprices inſpired by this unhappy purſe-pride, I am ſorry to ſay our Countrymen do, when they go abroad, ſo play the fool, that they are univerſally flattered and deſpiſed, pillaged and laughed at, by all perſons with whom they have any dealing. In France, Mi Lor Anglois is, or at leaſt was, to have ſix times as great a profuſion of every thing as any other perſon, and pay three hundred per cent. more for it; and the worſt of it was, that a Mi Lor was found ſo conducive to their intereſt, that they would not, if they could help it, ſuffer any Engliſhman to go without a title---nay, would ſometimes, with kindly compulſion, force him to accept of it, whether he would

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or not: but if an Engliſhman be, above all others, the object of impoſition in foreign countries, certainly none pillage him ſo unmercifully as his own Countrymen who are ſettled there. In all the places through which I have travelled, I have had occaſion to remark (and the remark has been amply verified by every Gentleman I have ever converſed with on the ſubject), that the moſt extravagant houſes of entertainment are thoſe kept by Engliſhmen. At Oſtend, as well as other places, it was ſo: therefore, as economy, when it does not treſpaſs upon the bounds of genteel liberality, is the beſt ſecurity for happineſs and reſpect, I adviſe you, whenever you ſhall have occaſion to viſit the Continent, in the firſt place to avoid all appearance of the purſe-proud oſtentation of John Bull; and, in the next place, to avoid all Engliſh houſes of entertainment.

It is a ſingular circumſtance, and belongs, I ſhould ſuppoſe, peculiarly to Oſtend, that the charity-children of the town are permitted to come on board the veſſels arrived, to beg of the paſſengers, one day in the week.

Before I bid adieu to Oſtend, I muſt remark one heavy diſadvantage under which it labours---the want of freſh water; all they uſe being brought from Bruges. In going from Oſtend to Bruges, a traveller has it in his choice to go by land, or water---If by land, he gets a good voiture for about ten ſhillings of our money; the road is about fourteen or fifteen miles---If by water (the mode which I adopted, as by far the cheapeſt and the pleaſanteſt), he

travels

travels in a veſſel pretty much reſembling our Lord Mayor's barge, ſometimes called a trackſchuyt, but often le barque, or barke: it is, in truth, fitted up in a ſtyle of great neatneſs, if not elegance; ſtored with a large ſtock of proviſions and refreſhments of all kinds, and of ſuperior quality, for the accommodation of the paſſengers; and has, particularly, a very handſome private room between decks, for the company to retire to, in order to drink tea, coffee, &c. &c. or play at cards. In this comfortable, I might ſay, delightful vehicle, as perfectly at eaſe as lying on a couch in the beſt room in London, are paſſengers drawn by two horſes, at the rate of about four miles an hour, for about ten pence, the ſame length of way that it would coſt ten ſhillings to be jumbled in a voiture over a rough paved road.

The country between Oſtend and Bruges is very level, and of courſe deſtitute of thoſe charms to a mind of taſte, which abound in countries toſſed by the hand of Nature into hill, dale, mountain and valley: the whole face of it, however, is, or at leaſt then was, in ſo high a ſtate of cultivation, and ſo deeply enriched by the hands of art and induſtry, aided by the natural fertility of the ſoil, that its appearance, though far from ſtriking or delightful, was by no means unpleaſant; and on approaching the town of Bruges, we paſſed between two rows of trees, beautiful, ſhady, and of lofty ſize---forming, with the ſurrounding objects, a ſcene, which, if not romantic, was at leaſt pictureſque.

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In paſſing through Countries groaning beneath the deſpotic ſcourge of unlimited Monarchy, where ſubſidies are raiſed, and taxes laid on *ad libitum*---where guilty diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, with the eyes of a lynx and the fangs of a harpy, ſtand ſentinels at every gate, to ſcrutinize the harmleſs paſſenger, awake him to the clanks of his fetters, and awe him into compliance, a free-born Briton feels a cold horror creep through his whole frame: his ſoul recoils at the gloomily ferocious and inſolently ſtrict examination, with which a ſentinel, at the entry of a town, ſtops, inveſtigates, demands a paſſport; and, in ſhort, puts him, *pro tempore*, in a ſtate of durance, with all its hideous formalities and appendages, its gates, its bars, its armed ruffians, its formal profeſſions of laws, and its utter violation of reaſon and of juſtice. Entering the town of Bruges, we were ſtopped by a ſentinel, who, with all the ſaucy, ſwaggering air of authority, of a ſlave in office, demanded to know, whether we had any contraband goods? whether we were in any military capacity? whence we came? and whither we were going? with a variety of other interrogatories, to my mind equally impertinent and deteſtable, but which ſeemed to make no greater impreſſion on the good Flemings themſelves, than demanding the toll at a turnpike-gate would make on an Engliſh waggoner.

Talking over this ſubject, ſince that time, with a Gentleman who is well acquainted with all thoſe places, he informed me, that in the war between the Emperor and the States General, ſome French officers, travelling through Flanders to join Count MAILLEBOIS,

LEBOIS, were ſtopped at the gate of Bruges, and, by order of the Emperor, ſent to his army, turned into the ranks, and obliged to do duty as common ſoldiers.---Here, my dear FREDERICK, was an act, not only deſpotic in itſelf, but aggravated by circumſtances of collateral profligacy, of ſuch enormous magnitude as bids defiance to all power of amplification, and leaves eloquence hopeleſs of deſcribing it with greater force than it derives from a ſimple narration of the fact: on the one hand, the inroad upon the juſt perſonal rights of the individual; on the other, the rights of a Nation violated. Some men in England, judging from their own conſtitutional ſecurity, may diſbelieve the fact: but let them conſider, that the Marquis de la FAYETTE, an alien, taken upon neutral ground, is now, even now, held in illegal, unjuſt thraldom and perſecution---let them, I ſay, remember this, and let their incredulity ceaſe.

Bleſs your ſtars, my dear boy, that you were born in a Country where ſuch outrages as theſe can never be perpetrated by any, and will never be approved of *but by a few*.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

In my laſt, I carried you paſt a ferocious, impertinent ſentinel, into the town of Bruges; and now, having got you there, I muſt endeavour, from the looſe materials I have been able to collect, to give you a ſhort deſcription of it.

I had heard much of Bruges, its grandeur and its opulence; you will gueſs my ſurpriſe then, when, on entering it, I found nothing but an old-faſhioned, ill-built, irregular town; the ſtreets, in general, narrow and dirty, and moſt of the houſes ſtrongly expreſſive of poverty and ſqualid wretchedneſs: yet this was anciently a moſt flouriſhing city. Did the difference between the town at this time, and its ſtate as it is repreſented of old, conſiſt only in its external appearance, we might readily account for that, in the great improvements made by the Moderns in the art of houſe-building; but its preſent inferiority goes deeper, and is the reſult of departed commerce---commerce, that fluctuating will-with-a-wiſp, that leads States in hot purſuit after it, to entrap them ultimately into mires and precipices, and which, when caught, ſtays till it

extinguiſhes the ſpirit of Freedom in a Nation, refines its People into feeble ſlaves, and there leaves them to poverty and contempt.

Perhaps there is no ſubject that affords an ampler field for a ſpeculative mind to expatiate upon, than the various, and, I may ſay, incongruous revolutions which have chequered the progreſs of human ſociety from the firſt records of Hiſtory down to the preſent time. It is indeed a ſpeculation which not only tends to improve the underſtanding, by calling in experience to correct the illuſions of theory, but is highly inſtructive in a moral point of view, by pointing out the inſtability of the very beſt ſtrictures of human wiſdom, and teaching us how little reliance is to be placed upon human caſualties, or earthly contingencies. Look to Greece, once the fountain-head of Arts, Eloquence, and Learning, and the mother of Freedom---her Poets, her Legiſlators, her Soldiers, and her Patriots, even to this day conſidered the brigheſt examples of earthly glory!---ſee her now ſunk in ſlavery, ignorance, ſloth, and imbecillity, below any petty Nation of Europe. Look to Rome---in her turn, the queen of Arms and Arts, the land of Liberty, the nurſe of Heroes---the ſtage on which inflexible Patriots, accompliſhed Philoſophers, and a free People, acted for centuries a drama that elevated Man almoſt above his nature!---ſee her now reduced to the laſt ſtage of contemptibility---even below it, to ridicule and laughter---ſwayed by the moſt contemptible impoſture, and ſunk into the moſt deſpicable enſlavement,

enſlavement, both of perſon and opinion---the offices of her glorious Senate performed by a kind of heteroclite being, an hermaphroditical impoſtor, who, deducing his right from the very dregs and offscourings of ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, and aided by a ſet of diſciples worthy of ſuch a maſter, rules the People, not with the terrors of the Tarpeian rock, nor yet with that which to a Roman boſom was more terrible, baniſhment---but with the horrors of *eternal damnation!*---ſee her valiant, vigorous Soldiery converted into a band of feeble fidlers and muſic-maſters, and the clangor of her arms into ſhrill concerts of ſqueaking caſtratoes; thoſe places where her CICERO poured forth eloquence divine, and pointed out the paths that led to true morality---where her BRUTUS and her CATO marſhalled the forces of Freedom, and raiſed the arm of Juſtice againſt Tyrants, over-run by a knaviſh hoſt of ignorant, beggarly, bald-pated Friars, vomiting, to a crowd of gaping bigots, torrents of fanatical bombaſt, of miracles never performed, of Gods made of wood or copper, and of Saints, that, like themſelves, lived by impoſture and deception!---ſee her triumphs and military trophies changed into proceſſions of Prieſts ſinging pſalms round wafers and wooden crucifixes; and that code of Philoſophy and Religion, which operated ſo effectually upon the morals of her People that there was none among them found ſo deſperate or ſo baſe as to break an oath, exchanged for the Roman Catholic branch of the Chriſtian Faith---for diſpenſations for inceſt, indulgences for murder, fines for fornication, and an excluſive

patent

patent for adultery in their prieſthood. Then look to England! ---ſee her, who once ſtooped beneath the yoke of Rome, whoſe Chief, CARACTACUS, was carried there in chains to grace his conquerors triumphs, while herſelf was made the meaneſt of the Roman Provinces, now holding the balance of the world, the unrivalled miſtreſs of Arms, Arts, Commerce---every thing.

It was in this irreſiſtible mutation of things, that Bruges ſunk from the high ſtate of a moſt flouriſhing city, where there are ſtill (unleſs the French have deſtroyed them) to be ſeen the remains of ſeventeen palaces, anciently the reſidences of Conſuls of different Nations, each of which had diſtinct houſes, magnificently built and furniſhed, with warehouſes for their merchandiſes: and ſuch was the power and wealth of the Citizens in thoſe days, that it is an indubitable fact, they kept their Sovereign, the Archduke MAXIMILIAN, priſoner, affronted his ſervants, and abuſed his officers; nor would they releaſe him until he took an oath to preſerve inviolate the laws of the State. Even ſo late as the time I was there, Bruges had ſome trade---indeed as good a foreign trade as moſt cities in Flanders. The people ſeemed cheerful and happy, and the markets were tolerably ſupplied.

Several fine canals run in a variety of directions from Bruges: by one of them, boats can go, in the courſe of a ſummer's day, to Oſtend, Nieuport, Furnes, and Dunkirk; and veſſels of four hundred tuns can float in the baſon of this town. Another canal leads to Ghent, another to Damme, and another to Sluys. The

water

water of thoſe canals is ſtagnant, without the leaſt motion; yet they can, in half an hour, be all emptied, and freſh water brought in, by means of their well-contrived ſluices. This water, however, is never uſed for drinking, or even for culinary purpoſes; a better ſort being conveyed through the town by pipes from the two rivers Lys and Scheldt, as in London; for which, as there, every houſe pays a certain tax.

Although the trade of this city has, like that of all the Low Countries, been gradually declining, and daily ſucked into the vortices of Britiſh and Dutch commerce, there were, till the French entered it, many rich Merchants there, who met every day at noon in the great market-place, to communicate and tranſact buſineſs, which was chiefly done in the Flemiſh language, hardly any one in it ſpeaking French; a circumſtance that by this time is much altered---for they have been already made, if not to ſpeak French, at leaſt to ſing *Ca-ira*, and dance to the tune of it too, to ſome purpoſe.

The once-famed grandeur of this city conſiſted chiefly, like that of all grand places in the dark periods of Popery, of the gloomy piles, the oſtentatious frippery and unwieldly maſſes of wealth, accumulated by a long ſeries of Monkiſh impoſture---of Gothic ſtructures, of enormous ſize and ſable aſpect, filled with dreary cells, calculated to ſtrike the ſouls of the ignorant and enthuſiaſtic with holy horror, to inſpire awe of the places, and veneration for the perſons who dared to inhabit them, and, by enfeebling the

reaſon

reaſon with the mixed operations of horror, wonder and reverence, to fit the credulous for the reception of every impoſition, however groſs in conception, or bungled in execution. Thoſe are the things which conſtituted the greatneſs and ſplendor of the cities of Ancient Chriſtendom; to thoſe has the ſturdieſt human vigour and intellect been forced to bend the knees: they were built to endure the outrages of time; and will ſtand, I am ſure, long, long after their power ſhall have been annihilated.

What a powerful engine has ſuperſtition been, in the cunning management of Prieſts! How lamentable it is to think, that not only all who believed, but all who had good ſenſe enough not to believe, ſhould, for ſo many centuries, have been kept in proſtrate ſubmiſſion to the will and dominion of an old man in Rome!---My bluſhes for the folly and ſupineneſs of Mankind, however, are loſt in a warm glow of tranſport at the preſent irradiation of the human mind; and though I can ſcarcely think with patience of that glorious, Godlike being, HENRY the Second of England, being obliged by the Pope to laſh himſelf naked at the tomb of that ſaucy, wicked Prieſt, THOMAS A BECKET, I felicitate myſelf with the reflection, that the Pope is now the moſt contemptible Sovereign in Europe, and that the Papal authority, which was once the terror and the ſcourge of the earth, is now not only not recogniſed, but ſeldom thought of, and, when thought of, only ſerves to excite laughter or diſguſt.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

THE town of Bruges, although the ſtreets be, as I have already deſcribed them, ſo mean, narrow, dirty and irregular in general, contains, nevertheleſs, ſome few ſtreets that are tolerable, and a few ſquares alſo that are far from contemptible.---I ſhould think it, nevertheleſs, not worth another letter of deſcription, were it not that the Churches, and Church-curioſities, demand our attention; for you will obſerve, that in all rich Popiſh Countries, every Church is a holy toy-ſhop, or rather a muſeum, where pictures, ſtatues, gold cups, ſilver candleſticks, diamond crucifixes, and gods, of various ſorts and dimenſions, are hoarded up, in honour of the Supreme Being. This city having been for centuries the See of a Biſhop, who is Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Mechlin, and at the ſame time Hereditary Chancellor of Flanders, it is not to be wondered at, if eccleſiaſtical induſtry ſhould have amaſſed ſome of thoſe little trinkets which conſtitute the chief or only value of their Church. The mitre of this place conveys to the head that wears it a dioceſe containing ſix cities, from the names of which you will be able to form ſome ſmall judgment of

the opulence of one poor ſon of abſtinence and mortification.---Thoſe cities are, in the firſt place, Bruges itſelf, then Oſtend, Sluys, Damme, Middleburgh in Flanders, and Oudenberch---not to mention one hundred and thirty-three boroughs and villages; and if you could compute the number of inferior Clergy with which the ſtreets and highways are filled, you would be thunder-ſtruck. There, and in all thoſe Popiſh Countries, they may be ſeen, with groteſque habits and bald pates, buzzing up and down like bees, in ſwarms, (a precious hive!)---and, with the moſt vehement proteſtations of voluntary poverty in their mouths, and eyes uplifted to Heaven, ſcrambling for the good things of the earth with the eagerneſs of a pack of hounds, and the rapacity of a whole roll of lawyers! With loaded thighs (I might ſay, loaded arms too, for they have large pockets even in their ſleeves, for the concealment of moveables), they return to the great hive, where, contrary to the law of bees, the drone lives in idle ſtate, and he plunders them: contrary, too, to the habits of thoſe uſeful inſects, they baniſh the queen-bee, and ſuffer no female to approach their cells, but keep them in contiguous hives, where, under cover of the night, they viſit them, and fulfil in private that which they deny in public---the great command of Providence.

The firſt building in nominal rank, though by no means the firſt in value, is the great Cathedral, which has at leaſt bulk, antiquity and gloomineſs enough to recommend it to the Faithful. It is by no means unfurniſhed within, though not in ſo remarkable a

manner

manner as to induce me to fill a Letter with it. In a word, it is an old Popiſh Cathedral, and cannot be ſuppoſed wanting in wealth: at the time I write, it has been ſtanding no leſs a time than nine hundred and twenty-nine years, having been built in the year 865.

The next that occurs to me, as worthy of notice, is the Church of Notre Dame, or that dedicated to *our Lady* the Virgin MARY. This is really a beautiful ſtructure of the kind---indeed magnificent. Its ſteeple is beyond conception ſtupendous, being ſo very high as to be ſeen at ſea off Oſtend, although it is not elevated in the ſmalleſt degree by any riſe in the ground; for, ſo very flat is the whole intermediate country, that I believe it would puzzle a ſkilful leveller to find two feet elevation from high-water-mark at Oſtend up to this city. The contents of this Church are correſpondent to its external appearance---being enriched and beautified with a vaſt variety of ſacerdotal trinkets, and fine tombs and monuments. As to the former, the veſtments of that ſame THOMAS A BECKET whom I mentioned in my laſt, make a part of the curioſities depoſited in this Church: this furious and inflexible impoſtor was Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and his ſtruggles to enſlave both the King and People of England, and make them tributary to the Pope, have canonized him, and obtained the very honourable depot I mention for his veſtments. To do juſtice, however, to the ſpirit and ſagacity of the Holy Fathers who have ſo long taken the pains to preſerve them, it muſt be commemo-

rated, that they are, or at leaſt were ſet with diamonds, and other precious ſtones! Probably, among the many Prieſts who have, in ſo many centuries, had the cuſtody of thoſe divine relics, ſome one, more ſagacious than the reſt, might conceive, that, to lie in a Church, and be ſeen by the all-believing eyes of the Faithful, a little coloured glaſs was juſt as good as any precious ſtone, and wiſely have converted the originals to ſome better purpoſe. If ſo, it will be ſome conſolation to Holy Mother Church to reflect, that ſhe has bilked the *Sans-culottes*, who certainly have got poſſeſſion of Saint THOMAS A BECKET's ſacerdotal petticoats; and, if they have been found enough to ſtand the cutting, have, by this time, converted them into comfortable campaigning breeches. O monſtrous! wicked! abominable!---that the Royal MARY, ſiſter to the great Emperor CHARLES the Fifth, ſhould, ſo long ago as the Reformation, have bought at an immenſe price, and depoſited in the treaſury of the Church of *our Lady* the bleſſed Virgin MARY, the veſtments of a Saint, only to make breeches, in the year 1794, for a French ſoldier! The time has been, that the bare ſuggeſtion of ſuch ſacrilege would have turned the brain of half the people of Chriſtendom: but thoſe things are now better managed.

Of the tombs in this Church, I ſhall only mention two, as diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by their coſtlineſs, magnificence and antiquity. They are made of copper, well guilt. One of them is the tomb of MARY, heireſs to the Ducal Houſe of Burgundy; and

and the other, that of CHARLES (commonly called *the Hardy*), Duke of Burgundy, her father.

In Bruges there were four great Abbeys, and an amazing number of Convents and Nunneries. The buildings, I preſume, yet ſtand; but there is little doubt that their contents, of every kind, have been, before this, put *in requiſition*, and each part of them, of courſe, applied to its natural uſe.

The Church once belonging to the Jeſuits, is built in a noble ſtyle of architecture: and that of the Dominicans has not only its external merits, but its internal value; for, beſides the uſual ſuperabundance of rich chalices, &c. it poſſeſſes ſome very great curioſities---

As, firſt, a very curious, highly wrought pulpit---beautiful in itſelf, but remarkable for the top being ſupported by wood, cut out, in the moſt natural, deceptive manner, in the form of ropes, and which beguile the ſpectator the more into a belief of its reality, becauſe it anſwers the purpoſes of ropes.

Secondly, a picture---and ſo extraordinary a picture! Before I deſcribe it, I muſt appriſe you that your faith muſt be almoſt as great as that of a Spaniſh Chriſtian to believe me---to believe that the human intellect ever ſunk ſo low as, in the firſt inſtance, to conceive, and, in the next, to harbour and admire, ſuch a piece. But I miſtake---it has its merit; it is a curioſity---the Demon of Satire himſelf could not wiſh for a greater.

This

This picture, then, is the repreſentation of a Marriage!---but of whom? why, truly, of JESUS CHRIST with Saint CATHARINE of Sienna. Obſerve the congruity---Saint CATHARINE of Sienna lived many centuries after the tranſlation of JESUS CHRIST to Heaven, where he is to ſit, you know, till he comes to judge the quick and the dead!--But who marries them? In truth, Saint DOMINIC, the patron of this Church! The Virgin MARY joins their hands---that is not amiſs---But, to crown the whole, King DAVID himſelf, who died ſo long before CHRIST was born, plays the harp at the wedding!

My dear FREDERICK, I ſhall take it as no ſmall inſtance of your dutiful opinion of me to believe, that ſuch a picture exiſted, and made part of the holy paraphernalia of a Temple conſecrated to the worſhip of the Divinity: but I aſſure you it is a fact; and as I have never given you reaſon to ſuſpect my veracity, I expect you to believe me in this inſtance, improbable though it ſeems: for ſuch a farrago of abſurdities, ſuch a jumble of incongruities, impoſſibilities, bulls and anachroniſms, never yet were compreſſed, by the human imagination, into the ſame narrow compaſs.

I protract this Letter beyond my uſual length, on purpoſe to conclude my account of Bruges, and get once more upon the road.

The Monaſtery of the Carthuſians, another Order of Friars, is of amazing ſize, covering an extent of ground not much leſs than a mile in circumference. The Carmelites, another Order, have

have a Church here, in which there is raiſed a beautiful monument, to the memory of HENRY JERMYN, Lord Dover, a Peer of England---But the Monaſtery called the Dunes, a ſect of the Order of Saint BARNARD, is by far the nobleſt in the whole city: the cloiſters and gardens are capacious and handſome; the apartment of the Abbot is magnificent and ſtately, and thoſe of the Monks themſelves unuſually neat. Thoſe poor mortified penitents, ſecluded from the pomps, the vanities and enjoyments of life, and their thoughts, no doubt, reſting alone on hereafter, keep, nevertheleſs, a ſumptuous table, ſpread with every luxury of the ſeaſon---have their country-ſeats, where they go a-hunting, or to refreſh themſelves, and actually keep their own coaches.

Among the Nunneries there are two Engliſh: one of Auguſtinian Nuns, who are all ladies of quality, and who entertain ſtrangers at the grate with ſweetmeats and wine; the other, called the Pelicans, is of a very ſtrict Order, and wear a coarſe dreſs.

To conclude---In the Chapel of Saint BASIL is ſaid to be kept, in perfect preſervation, the blood which JOSEPH of Aremethea wiped off with a ſponge from the dead body of CHRIST. *Finis coronat opus.*

I fancy you have, by this time, had as much of miracles as you can well digeſt: I therefore leave you to reflect upon them, and improve.

LETTER

LETTER VIII.

As I was going to the berque, at Bruges, to take my departure for Ghent, the next town in my route, I was ſurpriſed to ſee a number of officious, buſy, poor fellows, crowding round my effects, and ſeizing them---ſome my trunk, ſome my portmanteau, &c. I believe two or three to each: but my aſtoniſhment partly ſubſided when I was told that they were porters, who plied on the canal, and about the city, for ſubſiſtence, and only came to have the *honour* of carrying my baggage down to the veſſel. Noting their eagerneſs, I could not help ſmiling. I know there are thoſe, and I have heard of ſuch, who would bluſter at them: but my mirth at the buſtling importance which the poor fellows affected, ſoon ſunk into ſerious concern; I ſaid within myſelf, "Alas, how hard muſt be your lot indeed!" and my imagination was in an inſtant back again in London, where a porter often makes you pay for a job, not in money only, but in patience alſo, and where the ſurlineſs of independence ſcowls upon his brow as he does your work. Every one of my men demanded a remuneration for his labour: one man could have eaſily done the work of five---

but

but I reſolved not to ſend them away diſcontented: he is but a ſordid churl that would; and I paid them to their full ſatisfaction. Here, my dear FREDERICK, let me offer you (ſince it occurs) my parental advice on this point---from the practice of which you will gain more ſolid felicity than you can poſſibly be aware of now: never weigh ſcrupulouſly the value of the work of the Poor; rather exceed than fall ſhort of rewarding it: it is a very, very ſmall thing, that will put them in good humour with you and with themſelves, and relax the hard furrows of labour into the ſoft ſmile of gratitude---a ſmile which, to a heart of ſenſibility ſuch as your's, will, of itſelf, ten-thouſand-fold repay you, even though the frequent practice of it ſhould abridge you of a few of thoſe things called pleaſures, or detract a little from the weight of your purſe.

Being again ſeated in my berque, I ſet off for Ghent, a city lying at a diſtance of twenty-four miles from Bruges. I muſt here remark to you, that the company one meets in thoſe veſſels is not always of the firſt rank; it is generally of a mixed, motley kind: but to a man who carries along with him, through his travels, a love for his fellow-creatures, and a deſire to ſee men, and their cuſtoms and manners, it is both pleaſant and eligible---at leaſt I thought it ſo, and enjoyed it. There were thoſe amongſt us who ſpoke rather loftily on that ſubject: I ſaid nothing; but it brought to my mind a reflection I have often had occaſion to concur in, viz. that a faſtidious uſurpation of dignity (happily

denominated *ſtatelineſs*) is the never-failing mark of an upſtart or a blockhead. The man of true dignity, ſelf-erect and ſtrong, needs not have recourſe, for ſupport, to the comparative wretchedneſs of his fellow-creature, or plume himſelf upon ſpurious ſuperiority. You will underſtand me, however! When I ſay, "the man of true dignity," I am far, very far, from meaning a lord, a ſquire, a banker, or a general officer---I mean a man of intrinſic worth---homo emunctæ naris---one who, in every ſtation into which chance may throw him, feels firm in the conſciouſneſs of right---who can ſee and cheriſh merit, though enveloped and concealed behind a ſhabby ſuit of clothes---and who ſcorns the blown-up fool of fortune, that, without ſenſe or ſentiment, without virtue, wiſdom or courage, preſumes to call himſelf great, merely becauſe he poſſeſſes a few acres of earth which he had neither the induſtry nor merit to earn, or becauſe his great-great-great-grandfather purchaſed a title by perfidy to his Country, the plunder of his fellow-citizens, or the ſlaughter of mankind.

Although the face of that part of the Country through which we are now paſſing, like that of the preceding ſtage from Oſtend to Bruges, wants diverſity, it has its charms, and would be particularly delightful in the eye of an Engliſh farmer; for it is covered with the thickeſt verdure on each ſide of the canal, and the banks are decorated all along by rows of ſtately trees, while the fields in the back ground are cultivated to the higheſt degree of perfection, and bear the aſpect of producing the moſt abundant harveſt.

You

You will be able to form a judgment of the trifling expence of travelling in this Country, from my expences in this ſtage of twenty-four miles. I had an excellent dinner for about fifteen pence of our money; my paſſage coſt me but ſixteen more, amounting in all to two ſhillings and ſeven pence: compare that with travelling in England, where one cannot riſe up from an indifferent dinner, in an Inn, under five ſhillings at the leaſt, and you muſt be aſtoniſhed at the diſproportion.

Ghent is the capital of Flanders, and is to be reckoned among the largeſt cities of Europe, as it covers a ſpace of ground of not leſs than ſeven miles in circumference; but there is not above one half of that occupied with buildings, the greater part being thrown into fields, gardens, orchards, and pleaſure-grounds. Situated on four navigable rivers, and interſected into no fewer than twenty-ſix iſlands by a number of canals, which afford an eaſy, cheap and expeditious carriage for weighty merchandiſe, it may be conſidered, in point of local advantages for commerce, ſuperior to moſt cities in Europe; while thoſe iſlands are again united by about a hundred bridges, ſome great and ſome ſmall, which contribute much to the beauty of the city.

To a man accuſtomed to mould his thoughts by what he ſees in Great Britain, the ſtrong fortifications that ſurround almoſt all towns on the Continent convey the moſt diſagreeable ſenſations---reminding him of the firſt miſery of Mankind, War!---denoting, alas! too truly, the diſpoſition of Man to violate the rights of his

fellow-creatures, and manifeſting the tyrannous abuſe of power. On me, though trained and accuſtomed to military habits, this "dreadful note of preparation" had an unpleaſing effect; for, though born, bred and habituated to the life of the Soldier, I find the feelings of the Citizen and the Man claim a paramount right to my heart.

Ghent was once extremely well fortified, and calculated, by nature as well as by art, to repel encroachment. It had a very ſtrong caſtle, walls and ditches; and now, though not otherwiſe ſtrong, the country may, by ſhutting up the ſluices, be, for above a mile round, laid in a very ſhort time under water. It was formerly ſo populous and powerful, that it declared war more than once againſt its Sovereign, and raiſed amazing armies. In the year 1587, it ſuffered dreadfully from all the ravages of famine, under which a number not leſs than three thouſand of its inhabitants periſhed in one week.

This town is diſtinguiſhed by the nativity of two celebrated characters: one was the famous JOHN of Gaunt, ſon of King EDWARD the Third of England; the other, the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth, who was born there in the year 1500.

It was in this city that the Confederation of the States, well known under the title of the Pacification of Ghent, which united the Provinces in the moſt laſting union of intereſt and laws, was held: this union was chiefly owing to the vigorous, unremitted efforts of WILLIAM the Firſt, Prince of Orange, to whoſe

whoſe valour and virtue may be attributed the independence of the United States.

In this city there were computed to be fifty companies of Tradeſmen, among whom were manufactured a variety of very curious and rich cloths, ſtuffs, and ſilks: it is certain, that the woollen manufacture flouriſhed here before it had made the ſmalleſt progreſs in England, whoſe wool they then bought. There was alſo a good branch of linen manufacture here, and a pretty briſk corn trade, for which it was locally well calculated. You will obſerve, once for all, that in ſpeaking of this Country, I generally uſe the paſt tenſe; for, at preſent, they are utterly undone.

Ghent was the See of a Biſhop, who, like the Biſhop of Bruges, was Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Mechlin. Thus, in moſt Chriſtian Countries, are the intellects, the conſciences, and the caſh too, of the People, ſhut up and hid from the light, by Prieſt within Dean, and Dean within Biſhop---like a ring in the hand of a conjurer, box within box---till at laſt they are enveloped in the great receptacle of all deception, the capacious pocket of the Archbiſhop. Let not ſceptered Tyrants, their legions, their ſcaffolds, and their ſwords, bear all the infamy of the ſlavery of Mankind! Opinion, opinion, under the management of fraud and impoſture, is the engine that forges their fetters!!---JANSENIUS, from whom the Janſeniſts took their name, was the firſt Biſhop of this place; and the late Biſhop, I think, may be reckoned the laſt.

The

The Municipal Government of this city is correct, and well calculated to ſecure internal peace and order. The chief magiſtrate is the High Bailiff; ſubordinate to whom are Burgomaſters, Echivins, and Counſellors.

Ghent is not deficient in ſtately edifices; and, true to their ſyſtem, the Holy Fathers of the Church have their ſhare, which, in old Popiſh Countries, is at leaſt nineteen twentieths. In the middle of the town is a high tower, called Belfort tower; from whence there is a delightful proſpect over the whole city and its environs. Monaſteries and Churches, there, are without number; beſides hoſpitals and market-places: that called Friday's market, is the largeſt of all, and is adorned with a ſtatue of CHARLES the Fifth, in his imperial robes. The Stadthouſe is a magnificent ſtructure---So is the Cathedral, under which the Reverend Fathers have built a ſubterraneous Church. What deeds are thoſe which ſhun the light! Why thoſe Holy Patriarchs have ſuch a deſire for burying themſelves, and working like moles under ground, they themſelves beſt know, and I think it is not difficult for others to conjecture.

This Cathedral, however, is well worth attention, on account of ſome capital pictures it contains. The marble of the Church is remarkably fine, and the altar-piece ſplendid beyond all poſſible deſcription; and, indeed, in all the others, there are paintings, eminent for their own excellence, and for the celebrity of the maſters who painted them.

In

In the Monaſtery of St. PIERRE, there is a grand library, filled with books in all languages; but it is chiefly remarkable for the ſuperlative beauty of its ceiling, one half of which was painted by RUBENS.

° Thus you may perceive, my dear FREDERICK, the charity of the Clergy!---how, in pure pity for the ſins of Mankind, and in paternal care of their ſouls, they exact from the Laity ſome atonement for their crimes, and conſtrain them at leaſt to repent---and, with unparalleled magnanimity, take upon themſelves the vices, the gluttony, the avarice, and the ſenſuality, of which they are ſo careful to purge their fellow-creatures!

LETTER IX.

HAVING given you a general outline of the city of Ghent, I ſhall now proceed to give you an account of one of the moſt excellent, and certainly the moſt intereſting, of all the curioſities in that place. It is indeed of a ſort ſo immediately correſpondent to the moſt exalted ſenſations of humanity, and ſo perfectly in uniſon with the moſt exquiſitely ſenſible chords of the feeling heart, that I reſolved to reſcue it from the common lumber

of

of the place, and give it to you in a freſh Letter, when the ideas excited by my former might have faded away, and left your mind more clear for the reception of ſuch refined impreſſions.

On one of the many bridges in Ghent ſtand two large brazen images of a father and ſon, who obtained this diſtinguiſhed mark of the admiration of their fellow-citizens by the following incidents:

Both the father and the ſon were, for ſome offence againſt the State, condemned to die. Some favourable circumſtances appearing on the ſide of the ſon, he was granted a remiſſion of his ſhare of the ſentence, upon certain proviſions---in ſhort, he was offered a pardon, on the moſt cruel and barbarous condition that ever entered into the mind of even Monkiſh barbarity, namely, that he would become the executioner of his father! He at firſt reſolutely refuſed to preſerve his life by means ſo fatal and deteſtable: This is not to be wondered at; for I hope, for the honour of our nature, that there are but few, very few ſons, who would not have ſpurned, with abhorrence, life ſuſtained on conditions ſo horrid, ſo unnatural. The ſon, though long inflexible, was at length overcome by the tears and entreaties of a fond father, who repreſented to him, that, at all events, his (the father's) life was forfeited, and that it would be the greateſt poſſible conſolation to him, at his laſt moments, to think, that in his death he was the inſtrument of his ſon's preſervation. The youth conſented to adopt the horrible means of recovering his life and liberty: he lifted the

axe;

axe; but, as it was about to fall, his arm ſunk nerveleſs, and the axe dropped from his hand! Had he as many lives as hairs, he would have yielded them all, one after the other, rather than again even conceive, much leſs perpetrate, ſuch an act. Life, liberty, every thing, vaniſhed before the dearer intereſts of filial affection: he fell upon his father's neck, and, embracing him, triumphantly exclaimed, "My father, my father! we will die together!" and then called for another executioner to fulfil the ſentence of the law.

Hard muſt be their hearts indeed, bereft of every ſentiment of virtue, every ſenſation of humanity, who could ſtand inſenſible ſpectators of ſuch a ſcene---A ſudden peal of involuntary applauſes, mixed with groans and ſighs, rent the air. The execution was ſuſpended; and on a ſimple repreſentation of the tranſaction, both were pardoned: high rewards and honours were conferred on the ſon; and finally, thoſe two admirable brazen images were raiſed, to commemorate a tranſaction ſo honourable to human nature, and tranſmit it for the inſtruction and emulation of poſterity. The ſtatue repreſents the ſon in the very act of letting fall the axe.

Lay this to your mind, my dear FREDERICK: talk over it to your brother; indulge all the charming ſympathetic ſenſations it communicates: never let a miſtaken ſhame, or a falſe idea (which ſome endeavour to impreſs) that it is unmanly to melt at the tale of woe, and ſympathize with our fellow-creatures,

ſtop the current of your ſenſibility---no! Be aſſured, that, on the contrary, it is the true criterion of manhood and valour to feel; and that the more ſympathetic and ſenſible the heart is, the more nearly it is allied to the Divinity.

I am now on the point of conducting you out of Auſtrian Flanders---One town only, and that comparatively a ſmall one, lying between Us and Brabant: the name of this town is Aloſt, or, as the Flemings ſpell it, Aelſt.

From Ghent to Bruſſels (the next great ſtage in my way), I found, to my regret, that there was no conveyance by water: I therefore was obliged to go in a voiture, and ſtopt at Aloſt, as an intermediate ſtage; and mathematically intermediate it is---for it lies at equal diſtance from Ghent and Bruſſels, being exactly fifteen miles from each.

This is a ſmall, but exceeding neat town, ſituated on the river Dender; and being a remarkably great thoroughfare, accommodations of every kind are tolerably good in it. It would be idle to ſuppoſe, that Catholic zeal had left ſo many ſouls unprotected and undiſciplined, where there were ſo many bodies capable of drudgery to pay for it. In truth, there has been as ample proviſion made for the town of Aloſt in the way of ſacerdotal buſineſs, as for any other town in the Netherlands---regard being had to its bulk; for there were ſeveral Convents of Friars, and of courſe ſeveral of Nuns: beſides, there was a Jeſuit's College of ſome note.

note. How they all fare by this time, it is difficult for me to determine.

The Church of Saint MARTIN could boaſt of ſome excellent pictures, particularly a moſt capital piece, "*La Peſte*," by RUBENS.

In a Convent inhabited by a ſet of Monks, denominated Gulielmite, I ſaw the tomb of THIERRY MARTIN, who firſt brought the art of Printing from Germany to that place. His name and fame are tranſmitted to us by an epitaph upon his tomb, written by his friend, the ingenious ERASMUS.

This tomb of THIERRY MARTIN ſtands a monument, not only of his merit, but of the ſhort-ſightedneſs and folly even of Monks. Alas, ſilly men! they little knew, that when they granted THIERRY MARTIN the honours of the Convent, they were harbouring, in their hallowed ground, one of their greateſt enemies, and commemorating the man who was contributing to the overthrow of their ſacred Order: for the art of Printing, wherever it reached, illuminated the human mind, and firſt kindled up that light, before which Prieſtcraft, and all its pious impoſtures, like evil ſpectres, have vaniſhed. To the art of Printing is human ſociety indebted for many of the advantages which it poſſeſſes beyond the brute or ſavage tribes---for the perfection of arts, the extenſion of ſcience, the general enlargement of the mind, and, above all, for the emancipation of perſon and property from the ſhackles of deſpotiſm, and of the human intellect from the fet-

ters of blindneſs and ignorance with which ſacerdotal fraud had chained it for centuries to the earth.

The territory of this City is of pretty large extent, and is called a County, having, in ancient times, had Counts of its own; and the whole of it is extremely fruitful in paſture, corn, hops, flax, and moſt other productions of thoſe climes.

I made but a very ſhort ſtay at Aloſt, when I proceeded on to Bruſſels; and, having thus brought you through that part of the Netherlands called Auſtrian Flanders, I think I ought to give you a general account of the Country at large, as I have hitherto confined myſelf merely to the cities and towns of it; but as this Letter is already of a length that will not allow of any great addition, I ſhall poſtpone my intended deſcription to my next.

LETTER X.

WERE Mankind to be guided by moderation, reaſon, and juſtice---were there no luſt for territory in particular States---no ambition or deſire in Kings for an undue enlargement of their power---no unjuſtifiable infractions attempted by one State or Potentate upon the peace and poſſeſſion of another---no Armies to carry

carry deſolation and plunder through the world, nor Churchmen more mild, but not more moderate, to drain them with their ſubtle deceptions---were the huſbandman, the fiſherman, the manufacturer, and the labourer, permitted to make, by their induſtry, the beſt uſe of the ſoil on which chance or nature had planted them, and to lift the fruits of their labour to their own lips---no people were more happy than the inhabitants of Auſtrian Flanders.

This Country is bounded, to the North, by the Scheldt; to the North-weſt, by the Northern Sea; to the South, and South-weſt, by Artois, one of the fineſt Provinces of France; and to the Eaſt, by Brabant. Its greateſt length is ſeventy-five miles; and its greateſt breadth, fifty-five. The air is good; but it is ſaid to be better in proportion as it recedes from the ſea. The Winters are ſometimes long and ſevere, and the Summers ſometimes wet and ſultry; yet, in general, the climate is agreeable. The ſoil is in moſt parts fertile, and in ſome to a degree equal to that of any part of Europe. It is chiefly famous for its paſturage; in conſequence of which, great numbers of black cattle, horſes and ſheep, are bred in it, and immenſe quantities of butter and cheeſe made. It is, beſides, abundantly productive of all ſorts of culinary vegetables---fruit in great quantities---corn and flax, which laſt is not only raiſed in great plenty, but is celebrated for the fineneſs and ſtrength of its ſtaple. It is true, that in ſome parts they have not corn ſufficient for the inhabitants; but this is well recompenſed

by

by other productions, with the redundance of which they purchaſe the ſuperfluous grain of their neighbours---for, where the inhabitants do follow tillage, the produce is unequalled, and the ſuperfluity muſt of courſe be great.

The ſuperior fecundity of the ſheep of this Country is very remarkable, and difficult, perhaps, to be accounted for---a ewe here bringing forth conſtantly three lambs at a birth, ſometimes four, ſometimes five, and ſome have been known to produce as many as ſix and ſeven---no ſmall inſtance of the prodigality of Nature in providing for this ſpot.

At ſome diſtance from the ſea-coaſt, the face of the Country is decorated with a profuſion of wood, fitted either for timber or for fuel; and towards the coaſt, where Nature has been rather niggard of that bleſſing, the inhabitants ſubſtitute, in its ſtead, for fuel, a kind of turf, which they find at the depth of four or five feet from the ſurface of the earth, and which makes a fire, not only cheerful, pleaſant and hot, but remarkably wholeſome, being free from the deſtructive ſulphureous and bituminous vapour attendant upon coal.

Perhaps no part of the world is better ſupplied than this Province with all ſorts of fiſh, as well thoſe of ſea as freſh water: fowl and veniſon were extremely plenty and reaſonable; and a great deal of excellent beer was brewed in it. It is waſhed by ſeveral rivers, four of which are noble ſtreams, namely, the Scheldt, the Lys,

Lys, the Scarpe, and the Dender; and there are ſeveral canals, the chief of which is that between Bruges and Ghent.

Thus, in whatever way it be conſidered, Nature ſeems to have made ample proviſion for the happineſs of the People: how far they are ſo, you ſhall hear when I come to give a general view of the Netherlands---that which is applicable to Auſtrian Flanders being equally ſo to all the other parts of the Netherlands, excepting thoſe under the dominion of the Republic of the United States.

The States of this Country, according to the Conſtitution it once poſſeſſed, conſiſts of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Commoners. The Clergy were the Biſhops and Abbots: the Nobility was compoſed of certain families holding hereditary Offices or Baronies, to which that privilege was annexed; and the Commoners were made up of the Burgomaſters, Penſioners and Deputies of the Cities and Diſtricts. But the only religion profeſſed or tolerated in this Country, was the Roman Catholic.

Of the People of Auſtrian Flanders, a celebrated Author gives the following account, which I tranſcribe for your uſe, the rather as my ſtay there was too ſhort to enable me to make any material obſervations on them, or their manners.---

" With reſpect to the perſons and characters of the inhabitants," ſays he, " they are, generally ſpeaking, luſty, fat, and clumſy--- " very induſtrious, both in cultivating their lands, and in their " trades and manufactures---lovers of Liberty, and enemies to " Slavery---and not defective in good ſenſe or judgment, though

" they

" they have not ſo lively an imagination as ſome other Nations.
" Their women are fair, handſome enough, and honeſt by their
" natural conſtitution, as well as from a principle of virtue: as
" they cannot pretend to wit and repartee, they do not make
" themſelves ridiculous by the nauſeous affectation of them. Both
" ſexes are great lovers of public diverſions; and every city, town,
" and village, have their kermiſſes, or fairs, in which all ſorts of
" ſhews are exhibited."

Many arts which now enrich other Nations, and the importance of which has excited conteſts and ſtruggles of the moſt ſerious kind in the political world, were invented or improved in that Country. Weaving, in general, though not invented, was greatly improved; and the art of forming figures of all ſorts in linen was firſt invented there. To the Flemings we are alſo indebted for the arts of curing herrings, dying cloths and ſtuffs, and oil-colours. But thoſe arts, and the manufactures, have gradually ſlid away from them, and left but a ſmall ſhare behind, when compared with their former flouriſhing ſtate: they have flown to a Land of Liberty and Security, where hoſtile feet never tread, where Slavery corrupteth not, where War devoureth not, nor Prieſts nor Deſpots break in and ſteal. Nevertheleſs, ſilk, cotton and woollen ſtuffs, brocades, camblets, tapeſtry, linen, and lace, are ſtill manufactured here to ſome ſmall extent.

This Province had Counts of its own, from the ninth century up to the year 1369, when it was made over, by marriage (like a farm

a farm of cattle) to the Dukes of Burgundy; and afterwards, again, was by them made over, in like way of marriage, to the Houſe of Auſtria. In 1667, France ſeized the Southern part; and the States General obtained the Northern, partly by the Treaty of Munſter, and partly by the Barrier Treaty of 1715.

To reckon upon the natural endowments of this Country, one would ſuppoſe that it ſhould be a terreſtrial paradiſe: yet ſuch is the wickedneſs of Man, and the outrageous ſpirit of Power, that it is almoſt the laſt Country in Europe in which I would have property, and fix a permanent reſidence. Juſt now, while I am writing, I have before me an account, that the French, to whom they opened their gates, have plundered them to the laſt atom of their moveable poſſeſſions; and that the property of the unfortunate people is now in waggons, on its way to Paris.

Once more, my boy, I ſay, bleſs your GOD, that planted you in a Country cheered by the voice of Freedom, defended by Britiſh Valour, and, what is of more conſequence, ſurrounded by the Ocean.

LETTER XI.

HAVING conducted you through that part of the Netherlands called Auſtrian Flanders, we are now to direct our attention to that called Auſtrian Brabant, of which part, as well as of the Netherlands in general, Bruſſels, where I arrived the ſame day I left Ghent, is the capital, giving its name to a quarter or territory that ſurrounds it.

In all parts of the Netherlands through which I travelled, I could not help admiring the uniform decorations of the roads, rivers and canals, with rows of lofty trees, which form a moſt agreeable ſhade from the Summer's burning ſun, and yet do not obſtruct any great extent of proſpect, the Country is ſo extremely flat. And one thing I remarked, and which certainly ſeems at firſt view extraordinary, is, that in the great extent of Country through which we have hitherto paſſed, from Oſtend to Bruſſels, being ſixty-eight miles, I ſcarce ſaw one Nobleman or Gentleman's ſeat---nothing above the houſe of a huſbandman, a curate, or ſome perſon of ſmall fortune: and yet the Country is extremely rich; and I ſaw many ſpots, as I went along, charming beyond deſcription,

deſcription, and ſuch as would tempt, I ſhould think, a man of taſte and opulence to ſettle in them. This muſt appear unaccountable to thoſe who do not recollect, that in a Country ſubject like this to the ravaging incurſions of contending armies, fortified towns are conſidered as the moſt pleaſing, becauſe the moſt ſecure retreats of opulence.

As I approached the city of Bruſſels, I was ſtruck with a mixed ſenſation of ſurpriſe and delight at the appearance it made ---none that I had ever ſeen being comparable to it, and not one in Europe, by the account of travellers, being in that reſpect ſuperior to it, Naples and Genoa only excepted: like them, however, it, when entered, falls far ſhort of the expectation raiſed by its external appearance, being all compoſed of hills and hollows, which not only fatigue, but render the appearance of the ſtreets, though well built, contemptible and mean.

Bruſſels ſtands on the beautiful little river Senne, on the brow of a hill. The city is about ſeven miles in circumference, has ſeven gates, with extenſive ſuburbs, and is encompaſſed with a double wall made of brick, and ditches; but its ſize is too great for ſtrength, as a face of defence of ſuch extent could not poſſibly hold out a long ſiege---a great and inſuperable defect in ſuch a country as I have deſcribed.

Great as is the extent of ground on which this city ſtands, it is nevertheleſs very well built, and extremely populous. It is ornamented with no fewer than ſeven ſquares, all of them remark-

ably fine, particularly the great ſquare or market-place, which is reckoned to be perhaps the fineſt in Europe. Around it are the halls of the different trades, the fronts of which are adorned, in a ſuperb manner, with emblematical ſculpture, with gilding, and a variety of Latin inſcriptions. One quarter of this ſquare is entirely occupied by the town-houſes, a noble pile of building, in which there were apartments where the States of Brabant met, finely adorned with tapeſtry in gilt frames, and ſome admirable original paintings. At the time I was there, the whole city was in motion, preparing for the Inauguration of the EMPEROR, who was then impatiently expected, and whoſe approach made ſuch a buſtle, and promiſed ſuch a ſpectacle, as made me regret the neceſſity I lay under of proceeding on my journey. The town-houſe was put into the higheſt order, and ſubſequently fell a ſacrifice to the great and important event for which it was prepared.

The ſteeple of this building is of a moſt ſtupendous height---three hundred and ſixty-four feet; and on the top of it is erected a ſtatue of Saint MICHAEL killing the Dragon, of the enormous height of ſeventeen feet: this Coloſſal ſtatue is ſo conſtructed as to ſerve for a weather-cock; and being made of copper, well gilt, is at once conſpicuous, magnificent, and ornamental.

The public buildings of Bruſſels, particularly the Palaces and Courts of the ſeveral Princes, Counts, and other perſons of diſtinction, (and, you may be ſure, the Churches and Cloiſters too), are ſpacious, expenſive, and magnificent. Behind the Imperial Palace, which

which ſtood in the higheſt part of the city, but was burnt down many years ago, is a park, well ſtocked with deer, and planted with trees, like St. James's-park at London, for the inhabitants to walk in. At the farther end of it is a fine pleaſure-houſe, built by the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth, after his abdication.

The Palace is a magnificent ſtructure: the rooms of it are finiſhed in a ſtyle far ſuperior to thoſe of any Palace in England, and enriched with many fine paintings: that of the Family of HECTOR, in the Council Chamber, lays claim to the firſt rank of eminence. Of the other buildings (the grandeur of which entitle them to the names of Palaces), thoſe of the Prince de la Tour and Taxis, and the Britiſh Earl of Ayleſbury, are diſtinguiſhed by great beauty and magnificence. Indeed, in all the Palaces, there are collections of original paintings, by the moſt eminent maſters, both Italian and Flemiſh.

The Royal Library of Bruſſels claims particular attention, for the magnitude and liberality of its eſtabliſhment, containing a grand collection of the moſt excellent books in all languages, and being open all the year on Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Saturdays, to public acceſs.

The Arſenal of Bruſſels is extremely well worth going to ſee, on account of the very curious antique arms it contains---of which it is, at this diſtance of time, impoſſible for me to give you any account worth attention. The armour of the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth, together with the furniture of his horſe, and ſtate ſword,

are

are ſhewn: I could ſee nothing either novel or intereſting in them ---a ſtrong mark, I preſume, of my want of taſte; but I confeſs my organs are not ſo refined as to feel any extraordinary emotions at the ſight of a heap of inert matter, merely becauſe it once enveloped the carcaſe of a Tyrant: neither were they ſo very coarſe or dull as not to undergo very pointed ſenſations at the ſight of the armour of MONTEZUMA, the injured Emperor of MEXICO, the victim of avarice and rapine, under their uſual maſk, religion. Why MONTEZUMA's armour ſhould make a part of the trophies of a Popiſh State, and be triumphantly exhibited, is hard to account for in human folly: why that ſhould be exhibited which is a ſtain of the deepeſt-damned black, in their black code of faith, is aſtoniſhing, unleſs we allow the truth of the old ſaying, "Quos DEUS vult perdere, prius dementat;" and that, after having violated every principle of virtue, morality, and human feeling---after having ſurpaſſed in cruelty all that we know of the worſt monſters of the earth, or of the deep, the fell hyena, or the ravening ſhark---after having ſucceſsfully emulated the worſt efforts of the moſt malignant ſpirits that are ſaid to hold counſel for the ruin of Mankind in Hell---they were deſirous to tranſmit the ſpoils of their ravages to poſterity, to tell them what glorious things have been achieved in days of yore, for the love of CHRIST---to demonſtrate what benefits are to be derived from a religion which has, for ſo many hundred years, given ſanction to every enormity that ſtrikes the ſoul of Man with horror, and thereby to make converts

converts to their principles. Monſters! fools! Away with your idle cants, ye hypocrites, who would brand the cruelties of the preſent days, the maſſacres of the Jacobins, with the crime of infidelity, and attribute thoſe much lamented defections from humanity to a falling off from the Chriſtian Faith. Look to Mexico! ---ſee a monſter, a High Prieſt of your religion, collecting, by fair promiſes and ſweet perſuaſion, a people round him; and, when a plain was filled, commanding his bloodhounds, armed with ſword and crucifix, to fall upon and murder them---becauſe one poor creature, who knew not what a book meant, had accidentally dropped a bible from his hands!---ſee him not ſparing age or ſex, but butchering all, for the love of CHRIST!---When have the deluded and enfrenzied mob of France perpetrated, in the full torrent of popular frenzy, ſuch atrocities as this cruel Prieſt committed in cold blood? when have they hunted down their fellow-creatures, maſſacred children, and given their yet panting members to their dogs for food, as pious Chriſtians, headed by a pious Prieſt, have done in Mexico? Never! never!--Learn wiſdom, then, ye hypocrites! and if you cannot convince your enemies by reaſon, or conquer them by force, and if their predatory and wicked progreſs is not to be ſtopped, do not ſanctify their enormities, or palliate their crimes, in the eye of reaſon, by a compariſon with thoſe of a deeper dye: remember, that "not to be the worſt ſtands in ſome rank of praiſe," and that the Jacobin cruelties of Paris, horrible though they were, were pity and tender mercy, compared

with

with the Chriſtian butchery in Mexico, in Europe, in Aſia, in every place where Popery ever ſet its bloody hoof.

You are not, from what I ſay, to infer that I entertain any illiberal animoſity to Popery, as many men, and more women, do, merely becauſe its articles of Faith differ from thoſe in which I was bred; I truſt my heart and underſtanding are above ſuch very degrading prejudices: but I abhor every thing that militates againſt human happineſs---every thing that cruſhes the operations of intellect---every thing that ſtops the current of opinion, and prevents its courſe from enlarging and meliorating our condition: I abhor the impertinent and hypocritical intruſion of all Churchmen upon national or domeſtic concerns; the more, when that intruſion is miſchievous; and more ſtill, when it aſſumes the maſk of piety---for that is at once a fraud upon Man and an abuſe of God. All thoſe cauſes of abhorrence attach, more or leſs, to all ſects of the Chriſtian Religion, the Quakers only excepted---but to Popery rather more than to any of the others; for it is obſerved, that while the very firſt principles of Chriſtianity, as originally laid down in theory, are peace and good-will towards men, warfare, perſecution and bloodſhed, have practically marked its footſteps wherever it has trod, and its very eſſence been perverted by its own Miniſters, who, entruſted with the key of the Temple, ſteal the veſtments from the altar, to cover the deformed, crooked back of vice. But the rays of dawning reaſon now break with fuller light upon Mankind; and it haſtens to meridian reſplendence,

before

before which thoſe phantoms raiſed by pious jugglers will vaniſh, and, "like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion, leave not a wreck behind."

LETTER XII.

In the Arſenal of Bruſſels was another curioſity, which I overlooked in my laſt---a model of a cannon, conſtructed ſo as to throw ſeven balls at once. It is ſome conſolation to philanthropy to reflect, that of all the abominable engines and inſtruments which the inventive faculties of Man have diſcovered to increaſe the cruelty and carnage of war, not one has been of late times adopted. This model lies here, therefore, only as a memorial of the diabolical genius of the inventor.

The Opera-houſe of Bruſſels, accounted the nobleſt and largeſt in Europe, is built after the Italian manner, with rows of lodges or cloſets, in moſt of which are chimneys. One of thoſe, which belonged to a Prince, whoſe title I now forget, was hung with looking-glaſſes, in which, while he ſat by the fire, took refreſhments, or reclined on his couch, he could ſee the whole repreſentation, without being expoſed to the view of either the actors or the audience.

The markets of Bruſſels are very remarkable. The Dukes of St. Pierre paid no leſs than forty thouſand florins, or upwards of three thouſand pounds ſterling, for four pictures of them, painted by RUBENS and SYNDER---LEWIS the Fourteenth of France offered an immenſe ſum of money for them; but they found their way at laſt into the collection of the Britiſh Earl of Orford. The value of them is ſaid, by connoiſſeurs, to be beyond computation.

Bruſſels is extremely well ſupplied with water; for, beſides the river, it has twenty public fountains, adorned with ſtatues, at the corners of the moſt public ſtreets; and the lower part of the city is cut into canals, which communicate with the great one, extending from Bruſſels to the Scheldt, fifteen miles: by means of this canal, which was finiſhed in 1561, and coſt the city eight hundred thouſand florins, a perſon may ſail from Bruſſels to the North Sea; and barques do actually go twice a day to Antwerp, and back again.

This city is full of Churches, of which the moſt remarkable is that of Saint MICHAEL and Saint GUDULA, commonly called the Cathedral. It is a ſuperb, old Gothic ſtructure, and, from its celebrated ſituation, a moſt beautiful ornament to the city. It is not only grand in its external appearance, but finely adorned within. The pillars which ſupport the roof are lofty and elegant: and againſt each is a ſtatue of ten feet in height. There are no leſs than ſixteen Chapels in it; and each Chapel is enriched with abundance of ſplendid ornaments, altar finery, candleſticks, crucifixes,

cifixes, &c. and with ſome excellent pictures too: a picture of JESUS CHRIST preſenting the keys of Paradiſe to Saint PETER, which is reckoned among the chef-d'œuvres of RUBENS, hangs in one of thoſe Chapels. There are ſome monuments, alſo, of very great merit, in the choir of this Church. But that which I think by far the greateſt and moſt admirable curioſity (I mean of human workmanſhip) in the Church, is a pulpit---one of the richeſt and moſt exquiſitely wrought pieces I have ever ſeen: at the bottom are ſeen ADAM and EVE as large as life, repreſented as at the moment when the Angel drove them out of Paradiſe: in both of their faces are deeply and expreſſively marked the traits of a mind agoniſed with anguiſh and remorſe: behind EVE is a figure of Death, which follows them; and on the top of the pulpit are ſeen the figures of JESUS CHRIST and the Virgin MARY cruſhing the head of the Serpent. The ſtrong expreſſions in the faces of all thoſe figures, and the exquiſite turn of the workmanſhip, is the more remarkable, as it is all cut out of oak wood.

Of ſupernatural curioſities, one of the Chapels in this Cathedral contains ſome, that, for miracle, yield to none in the long catalogue of Monkiſh devices. Three hoſts or wafers are daily worſhipped by the People; which hoſts or wafers, the Prieſts firmly aſſert, and the People as firmly believe, were, ſo long ago as the year 1369, ſtabbed by a Jew, and bled profuſely. They are expoſed on every feſtival, in a chalice richly ſet with diamonds; and on the firſt Sunday after every thirteenth of July,

there is a yearly proceſſion in memory of this ſtabbing and bleeding, when the hoſts are carried in great ſtate round the city, embelliſhed with all manner of precious ſtones, and attended by all the Clergy, ſecular and regular, the Magiſtrates, the Courts of Juſtice, and even by the Governor of the Province: the Chapel where they are kept is of marble, and the altar of ſolid ſilver.

Great GOD! what an opprobrium to the human underſtanding, that, at the time when the mind of Man is ſufficiently enlightened to avoid the weakneſs of ſhameful credulity, a whole People ſhould ſtoop to ſuch extravagant impoſition! what a ſhame to juſtice and honeſty, that thoſe who are truſted to guard the rights of a People, and who certainly are too well informed to yield their belief to ſuch traſh, ſhould yet join in, and give the weight of their authority to ſo groſs, ſo wicked a deception on a Community! The Magiſtrates, the Courts of Juſtice, and the Governor---they walk, too, in company with the bald-pated impoſtors---Good GOD! can more be ſaid? volumes of comment could not elucidate or render it more conſpicuouſly abſurd than the bare recital of the fact itſelf.

It is impoſſible for me to recount to you the number of Nunneries, of various Orders, in which unfortunate women were cloiſtered up, ſome from bigotry, and others by force, in this city. There were, however, two of them Engliſh---one of Dominican Ladies, founded by Cardinal HOWARD, in the reign of CHARLES the Second, of which a Lady of the Noble Houſe of Norfolk was

always

always Abbeſs: the other is of Benedictine Nuns; the Beguinage of the latter is like a little town, ſurrounded with a wall and ditch, and divided into pretty little ſtreets, where every Beguine has her apartment; the number of them amounts in general to ſeven or eight hundred, ſometimes more.

If population be the true ſtrength of a Nation, this part of Popery is very impolitic. The ſucceſſion of women in this one Convent ſince the reign of CHARLES the Second, muſt amount to many thouſands. Had thoſe been married, and, on an average, had only two children each, with the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, down to the preſent day, in all the ramifications of deſcent, there is not a doubt but their number would equal that of the whole people of ſome extenſive Provinces. What, then, muſt be the loſs to the population of the earth, ariſing from the celibacy of ſo many millions of males and females as have been conſigned to ſterility in the Catholic Countries, ever ſince that extraordinary doctrine came firſt into faſhion? It is out of the reach of calculation: not but, now and then, they may have children---indeed they certainly have; but thoſe are generally diſpoſed of in a way not to bring ſhame on the frail Siſterhood, or their Confeſſors.

In wading through ſuch a torrent of offenſive ideas as the innumerable abſurdities and deceptions of Popiſh Countries continually raiſe in the mind, it is a pleaſing circumſtance to be relieved by the contemplation of ſome really uſeful, humane inſtitution; and

and ſuch a one preſents itſelf now to my recollection: At Bruſſels, and, I am told, at all great towns of the Netherlands, there is a public office for lending money at a very moderate intereſt upon pledges: it is called the Mount of Piety; and was eſtabliſhed nearly 108 years ago by the Archduke ALBERT, and ISABELLA, his wife. By this inſtitution, the Poor are ſaved from the fleecings and frauds of Pawnbrokers: and, to render it ſtill more perfect in accommodation, there are private paſſages for entrance; ſo that thoſe who would wiſh to conceal their neceſſities, are exempted from the mortification of being ſeen publicly going in, or coming out.

You have read, I preſume, that in the days of Heatheniſm, the Deities of that curious Mythology were ſuppoſed to rejoice in the number Three. The Popiſh Code has fixed upon Seven as the lucky number. Thus they have ſeven ſacraments, ſeven deadly ſins, &c. &c. Bruſſels has improved upon that; and, taking the hint from their bleſſed Liturgy, has ſeven grand ſtreets; ſeven pariſh-churches; ſeven Patrician families, out of which the Magiſtrates are or were elected; ſeven large ſquares; ſeven midwives, licenſed and ſworn by the Senate; and ſeven gates, leading to ſeven places of recreation and exerciſe, one to a place proper for fowling, a ſecond to a place for fiſhing, a third to one for hunting, a fourth to pleaſant fields, a fifth to paſtime grounds, a ſixth to ſprings and vineyards, and a ſeventh to gardens. Beſides all which ſevens, they boaſt of having once had the great good fortune

of

of entertaining, at one time, ſeven Crowned Heads, with ſeven thouſand horſe belonging to their retinue. If there were any ſpell in the number Seven, the People of Bruſſels ſurely muſt have been ſecure from all miſchief; but the *Sans-culottes* have broken the charm, diſperſed the necromancers, and lowered poor number Seven to its mere arithmetical value.

The Inns, or eating-houſes, in this city, were equal to any in the world: a ſtranger might dine there better and cheaper than in any place, perhaps, on earth. The wines, alſo, were excellent and cheap; and coach-hire beyond expectation reaſonable---And here I recollect to remark to you, that, all the way from Oſtend to Bruſſels, one is obliged to ſit, dine, &c. in bed-chambers; a circumſtance which is extremely diſcordant to the feelings of thoſe who have been uſed to Britiſh Inns, although the bed-chambers are, to ſay the truth, large and commodious. At the very walls of Bruſſels begins the famous wood of Sogne, from which the inhabitants were allowed to cut wood for fuel: as faſt as the trees were cut down, freſh ones were planted in their ſtead; by which means the wood was preſerved, and it afforded a continual ſupply to the Poor.

Bruſſels is ſo very remarkable a place, that I have taken more than my uſual ſcope of deſcription of it. Juſt as I had finiſhed it, I read a paragraph in the public papers, ſtating that it is likely to be annexed to the territories of the French Republic.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

HITHERTO, as I have proceeded on my travels, I have been purpoſely very particular in my deſcriptions of the towns through which I paſſed on my way to India, in order to give your mind a diſpoſition to inquiry, and point out to you an overflowing ſource of improvement and delight. Having ſo far ſhewn you how amply you will be rewarded, even in amuſement, by the trouble of ſearching into books, for the accurate topographical deſcriptions of towns, cities, building, &c. &c. I think I may ſpare myſelf that labour for the future, and confine myſelf to thoſe points that more immediately apply to the enlargement of the mind---I mean, the government, laws, manners and character of the People of each Country; and only uſe the former as ſubſervient to the latter purpoſe, at leaſt until I come to thoſe places where, the ground being but little trodden by Britiſh feet, more preciſe deſcription may become neceſſary.

But, before I leave the Netherlands, I muſt make a few remarks upon the Country and People, which it would be unpardonable in me to omit, after having been already ſo minutely particular in things of inferior merit to the ſcope of my plan.

Although

Although perſonal appearance be, in the eye of Moral Philoſophy, a very inferior conſideration, and mind the proper ſtudy of Man; yet, in deſcribing a People, I cannot think it altogether unneceſſary to include their perſonal appearance, as it will be found that there exiſts a greater analogy between the perſon and the mind of Man than is generally perceived. Thus the lively hilarity, the reſtleſs activity, the levity and fantaſtic character of the French, are ſtrongly pourtrayed in the national perſon. In like manner, the luſty, fat, clumſy and miſſhapen perſon of the People of the Netherlands, is ſtrongly illuſtrative of the temper and habit of their mind, intellects and ſpirits: induſtrious and heavy; dull of underſtanding, but not defective in judgment; ſlow in work--- but, perſevering in effort, and unerring in the proceſs, they are generally ſucceſsful in the end: in war, cold and backward at offenſive operations, but inflexible and terrible in reſiſtance; like the boar of the foreſt, they ſeek not the combat with any, but will not go out of their way to decline it with the moſt powerful: their appetites and deſires cooler than other Nations, but leſs ſubject to change or caprice: never violently in love, but rationally attached to their wives; and both men and women faithful to their conjugal vow, as well from natural temperament, as from a principle of virtue.

Thus conſtituted by Nature, the effects of their induſtry are wonderful in every thing, but chiefly in their canals and ſluices, which ſerve not only for the ſupport of their commerce, and the

facility of intercourſe, but for their defence againſt enemies: this was in other times; but, alas! the former of theſe uſes, commerce, has ſo entirely abſorbed all their intellect, and poſſeſſed their very ſouls, that they ſeem almoſt entirely negligent of the latter; and from being, of all People, the moſt wiſe and vigilant in determining and aſcertaining their rights, the moſt zealous aſſerters and defenders of their independence, the moſt ardent friends to Liberty, and the moſt determined enemies to Slavery, they are become a ſort of ſtrange, inconſiſtent, hotch-potch politicians, whom ingenuity itſelf would find a difficulty in deſcribing. They retain ſo much of their ancient and noble vigilance as ſerves to make them ſuſpicious---ſo much of their independence as diſpoſes them to change---ſo much of their jealouſy as ſtimulates them to reſiſtance---but not one particle of their former wiſdom, to inſtruct them where they ſhould attach themſelves, where reſiſt, or where reſolve to act---nor of their courage to carry any reſolution they might form into effect.

In the year 1781, the Emperor Joseph the Second came to Bruſſels, in order to indulge his paternal feelings as a Monarch with the contemplation and view of his Subjects, and alſo to be inaugurated; and perhaps upon no occaſion that has ever occurred in the moſt volatile Nation, was there greater joy more univerſally expreſſed. For ſome time before his arrival, the whole Country was in motion; and, even with them, domeſtic induſtry ſtopped its uſual perſevering pace, ſuſpended in the eager, anxious expectation

expectation of his arrival. Every thing in the birth, education, natural diſpoſition and perſon of the young Emperor, united to impreſs his Subjects with the moſt exalted opinion of his goodneſs, and to inſpire all ranks of people with the moſt fortunate preſages of a wiſe and beneficent government. Nor did he diſappoint them: his conduct, when among them, is handed over to remembrance, by a variety of acts of benevolence and condeſcenſion, which ſhewed that the grandeur of the Monarch had not made him forget the nature of the Man, and that his heart was better fitted for the mild, domeſtic enjoyments of a Subject, than the ſtern and unbending hardihood fit for a King: for I am perfectly of opinion with the celebrated JUNIUS, that there are virtues in a private Man which are vices in a King; and that the Monarch of a Country, in order to preſerve reſpect, ſhould avoid familiarity, and keep his perſon ſacred from too general obſervation. SHAKSPEARE has put into the mouth of his HENRY the Fourth, a beautiful expreſſion on this ſubject, well worth the attention of Kings---

" Had I ſo laviſh of my preſence been,
" So common hackney'd in the eyes of men,
" Opinion, that did help me to the Crown,
" Had ſtill kept loyal to poſſeſſion,
" And left me in reputeleſs baniſhment,
" A fellow of no mark, nor likelihood.
" By being ſeldom ſeen, I could not ſtir,
" But, like a comet, I was wonder'd at:
" That men would tell their children, This is he."

Of the number I have heard, I will mention one anecdote only, and one remarkable expreſſion of JOSEPH's, which will ſerve to ſhew in its true light what his diſpoſition was; and when you conſider them as the act and ſentiment of a young man nurſed in the lap of deſpotiſm and pride, you cannot but conſider them as marvellous.

In his journey to the Low Countries, he viſited Wurtzaurg; and, in his perambulating alone and *incog.* ſtopped at a little public-houſe, where the people were buſily employed in entertaining themſelves: he went in, and inquired why they were ſo merry---" Sir," ſaid one of the country people, " we are celebrating a marriage." " May I be permitted to join the company?" ſaid the diſguiſed Emperor. The hoſt obtained that permiſſion for him. When he entered the room, the married couple were preſented to him, and he received them with great gaiety, ſat down, drank their health, and, having informed himſelf of their ſituation, took leave of the company: but what was their aſtoniſhment, when, on lifting up a bottle of wine, they found a draft for ſix hundred florins, ſigned JOSEPH, and payable for the uſe of the married couple!

At Luxembourg, when the People called aloud on Heaven to ſhower down bleſſings on him for his affability, he made uſe of this remarkable expreſſion, while his feelings moiſtened his eyes: " I wiſh I could make you as happy in my care, as I am in your affection!"

The

The affability of Monarchs has often been magnified by the fooliſh, and often blamed by the wiſe: But, if all the inſtances of condeſcenſion practiſed by Kings were like that I have recited of JOSEPH; if they aroſe from a ſound, unqueſtionable ſpirit of philanthropy, not from gaping curioſity, broad folly, or a puerile inquiſitive habit; and if, inſtead of conceiving thoſe they viſit paid for their intruſion with the honour of having converſed with Majeſty, and leaving them churliſhly, they would generouſly pay them with hard caſh, as the good Emperor JOSEPH did; then, indeed, their affability might defy the exaggeration of fools, and muſt certainly command the applauſe of the wiſe.

On the 13th of July, the ceremony of Inauguration took place at Bruſſels. Nothing could equal the ſplendour of the place but the general joy of the People: the crowds were beyond all conception immenſe, and every thing was carried on with regularity till evening, when, in playing off ſome fire-works, that noble building the town-houſe took fire, and was burnt: ſix unfortunate perſons loſt their lives, and twenty were dangerouſly hurted: thoſe who periſhed were abſolutely roaſted, and their cries were beyond deſcription piercing. To ſuch a temper as JOSEPH's, you will readily conclude that this muſt be a moſt afflicting circumſtance---it was ſo; and he left Bruſſels under the preſſure of very different feelings from thoſe with which he entered it, and was followed by the prayers and bleſſing of all the People.

But

But now we are to view the reverſe of the medal. The ſound of their prayers for his welfare, and praiſes of his goodneſs, had hardly died away upon their lips, ere their minds turned to revolt and rebellion. I will not ſay that they were not right in one or other, or which of thoſe two extremes: certainly they could not be right in both; much leſs can their ſubſequent conduct be juſtified, or accounted for, in any principle of human nature, but that of the moſt abject meanneſs, daſtardly feebleneſs, and groſs folly. They returned to their allegiance, and beſought forgiveneſs: that forgiveneſs was granted. How they have behaved ſince, I have already informed you, (See Letter IV.); and I have now to add, that, pillaged by the French, and likely to be left unprotected, they have again held their necks out, ſoliciting the protection and the yoke of Auſtria, and have actually offered to raiſe 100,000 men for the Emperor, *if* he will again drive the French out of their territories---An excellent word that IF!

How a People, once formed for manly pith and love of Freedom, could bend ſo low, is unaccountable. It is a queſtion hard to be determined, whether an obſtinate adherence even to a bad cauſe, is not more reſpectable, than a fickle, alternate dereliction, and adoption of right and wrong, as it ſuits the caprice or convenience of the moment? Of two things ſo very contemptible, I think the former the leaſt odious and leaſt unmanly.

At the ſame time, my obſervations on the Country led me to conceive, that under the name of Freedom, they groaned under the

the yoke of Tyranny; for, though the Country was, as I have deſcribed it, charming, its fecundity unſurpaſſed, its face decorated with the beſt gifts of Providence---I mean, ſmiling fields and bleating plains---though *Ceres* profuſely repaid the labours of the huſbandman, though every field had the appearance of a garden, and though, upon inquiry, I found that land which would bring in England five pounds an acre, rented at eight, nine and ten ſhillings of our money at moſt---yet, in ſpite of all this, the farmers were rather poor in general---not even one of them to be found rich or ſubſtantial, like the middle rank of that claſs of men in England. They wanted the great ſtimulus to induſtry---ſecurity of their property: they were liable to be turned out by their landlords at pleaſure, and to be plundered when it ſhould pleaſe ſome Monarch to make war.

The firſt of theſe, however, you will obſerve, is not the oppreſſion of the Emperor: it is the tyranny of that worſt of all conſtituent parts of a State, an Ariſtocracy---a vile Ariſtocracy!---that univerſal, that every-day deſpotiſm, under which all places groan, more or leſs---which is exerciſed in all the various gradations of life that chequer ſociety, from the great man who, under the name of Miniſter, domineers over the Peer, to the country fox-hunting ſavage, who puts a poor wretch in jail to pine for years, (his family, the while, ſupported by the pariſh charity), only for doing that which makes the enjoyment of his own life, killing a partridge or a hare!---that Ariſtocratic tyranny which is ſeen

ſcowling

ſcowling on the brows of a ſwaggering ſellow in power, adopted by his ſecretary with increaſe, by him handed down to an upſtart ſet of ſellows in office, dependent on his ſmile, and by them diſplayed in all the nauſeous, deſpicable forms which awkwardneſs and ignorance, lifted above their ſtation, never fail to aſſume---the cold reſerve, the affected ſtare, the liſtleſs nod, the feigned deafneſs, blindneſs, abſence, and other faſhionable perfections, which ſerve as vents for upſtart arrogance, and indemnify the ſycophant for the vile homage and ſubmiſſion which he has before paid ſome wretch mean and arrogant as himſelf!---I tell you, my dear FREDERICK, it is this Ariſtocratic uſurpation of power, where power exiſts not, nor is neceſſary---this inſulting aſſumption of ſuperiority, this hidden petty oppreſſion which rears its head in every manor, nay, almoſt every town and village in the Kingdom, that puts the Nations out of tune, mars the harmony of ſocial arrangement, and renders power in the aggregate obnoxious. Why, our very women have their ſaucy, Ariſtocratic, ſupercilious front, their haughty ſtare, their contemptuous titter; and barter the winning ſoftneſs of the ſex, the dimples where the loves ſhould dwell, for the haughty toſs of the head, the ill-natured ſneer, and the inſulting Hector's frown---And thus the ſpirit of Ariſtocracy, like a poiſonous weed, grows and expands from one to the other with baleful luxuriance, gradually overſpreading the whole face of humanity, ſtopping the wholeſome current of the ſocial atmoſphere,

and

and choaking up the leſs rank but more uſeful plants---Thus it goes round in ſhameful traffic; and, as the Poet ſays,

" The wh—re ſhe kicks her cully,
" Court-waiters are kick'd at call;
" We are all kick'd, yet bully
" While int'reſt kicks the ball."

I am perſuaded, that if the grievances of the moſt deſpotic States were fairly eſtimated, and aſſigned to their real authors, the Princes of ſuch States would be found reſponſible for a very ſmall ſhare indeed, when compared with the Ariſtocracy: and by Ariſtocracy, I mean not merely Lords, but all men who convert the wealth which Providence has beſtowed upon them to the purpoſes of Tyranny, Exactions, Impoſition, and Oppreſſion---under which four heads we will again find, not only impriſonment for begging alms, impriſonment for ſhooting a partridge, but often ſeduction, adultery, and perſecution for reſiſting or reſorting to law for puniſhment of that ſeduction or adultery. Of all thoſe things, the proofs, I fear, in all Nations, are abundant: I am ſure they are ſo in the beſt governed State in Europe---I mean, England—

" Qui capit, ille facit."

I have thrown up a fool's cap: how many are there who will privately put it on!

LETTER XIV.

As the time of my departure from Bruſſels approached, I found the bitter ſenſations with which I left London, in ſome meaſure, returning. My fortunate encounter with General LOCKHART had afforded me a temporary reſpite; but now I was once more to face an unknown country alone, without the chance of again meeting a friend to ſolace my mind, or mitigate my woe, on this ſide of India.

Having ſeen as much of Bruſſels as my time and occaſions would at all allow, and, in truth, having rather treſpaſſed on my plan, for the reaſons juſt mentioned, I determined to puſh forward as faſt as it was poſſible, and took poſt for Liege, where I arrived, after paſſing through a beautiful, fertile, well-cultivated country, to the charms of which the renewed agony of my feelings rendered me almoſt inſenſible.

As we have now almoſt the whole length of Germany before us to travel through, it will be proper, before I proceed further, to give you a general idea of the Conſtitution of this vaſt Empire---over all which, while one great Monarch nominally preſides, there

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are ſpread a number of petty Potentates, who really rule after as diſtinct forms of Government as almoſt any two Governments, however remote, in Europe.

Conſidering the nature of Government abſtractedly, one would ſuppoſe that it aroſe from the general will of the ſociety governed, and was formed for their uſe and benefit alone: but if we view the different ſyſtems ſcattered over the civilized part of the earth, we ſhall find that they originated from force and fraud; and that, in their firſt formation, when bodily proweſs, not intellectual power, bore ſway---when he that could carry the ſtrongeſt armour, and ſtrike the heavieſt blows, was ſure to govern---when mere animal ſtrength and ferocity diſinherited reaſon of her rights, and robbed her of that aſcendancy to which the invention of gunpowder, aided by the art of Printing, has ſince in ſome ſort reſtored her---the baſis upon which Governments were raiſed was, one man, not the whole ſociety; the point then was, how this or that ſtrong ruffian could collect moſt ſlaves about him, not how this or that ſociety ſhould chooſe the beſt head: if he had ſtrength to carry havoc through the ranks of their enemies, and then to overawe themſelves, he was ſure of dominion over the people, and left it to his ſon; but if it ſo happened that he did not alſo bequeath to him bodily proweſs to preſerve it, the next ſtrong ruffian ſeized the reins, flung him from his ſeat, and kept it till he, or ſome one of his heirs, was again ſerved ſo in his turn by ſome other uſurper. Hence aroſe the cabals and intrigues of courts, the ſpirit of party,

and inteſtine commotion; till at length the People, for their own ſecurity, and to avoid the horrors of civil war, made choice (from diſmal neceſſity) of ſome one family to rule them. As ſociety advanced, and opulence held forth temptation, ſome greater ruffian, followed by a horde of needy, famiſhed barbarians, made incurſions on thoſe rulers; and being irreſiſtible, as well from numbers firmly connected, as from the powerful impulſe of neceſſity, under whoſe banners they generally robbed and ravaged, was ſubmitted to on terms, and became Lord Paramount of a number of petty Sovereigns, who did homage to him, and fleeced the miſerable ſubjects, to keep him in humour; and thus, in a ſeries of time, the power of both took root, and remained immoveable, unleſs when torn up by ſome violent tempeſt that convulſed the State, and ſhook it to its foundations.'

Reading this account, you will very naturally exclaim, "Good God! how abſurd! how irrational!" Yet ſo it is; and from this ſource, muddy though it be, is modern honour, and modern greatneſs, and modern high blood, derived: from this foul and turbid fountain have moſt of the Governments of the world iſſued; from thoſe ſtrong men of yore have moſt of our modern governors deſcended: and as it generally happens (ſo equally has Providence diſtributed the gifts of Nature) that the ſtrength of the intellectual part is in the inverſe ratio of the animal, perhaps that is the reaſon why Monarchs are formed, in general, of greater bodily vigour than mental endowments, and better fitted for the Field than the Cabinet---

Cabinet---and for this reaſon are obliged to take from the puiſne ranks of their Subjects ſome aſſiſtant, ſo far removed from the great ſtandard of antique dignity, as to poſſeſs underſtanding enough to govern.

. Upon a retroſpective view of the Hiſtory of Europe, it will be found, that for a long time after the birth of CHRIST, Germany was divided among ſuch petty rulers as I have deſcribed, who each held his little State in ſovereignty, and was called *Princeps* in Latin, or, in plain Engliſh, *Prince*. After the downfall of the Weſtern Empire, a Nation called *Franks*, from that part called *Franconia*, over-run a great part of Gaul and Germany, and in the fifth century took poſſeſſion of that part of Gaul which lay North of the river Loire. In the year 800, CHARLEMAGNE, the ſon of PEPIN, their King, formed an immenſe Empire in the Weſt, comprehending a great part of Germany, France, Italy, and a part of Spain. About eighty years afterwards, the petty Princes of Germany ſhook off the French Carlovinian race, and elected an Emperor of their own from the Houſe of Bavaria.

At laſt HENRY the Fourth, having diſpleaſed that grand arbiter the Pope, was put under the ban, and in conſequence depoſed by the States; on which occaſion His Holineſs had the addreſs to make that great dignity elective, he having uncontrouled power over the electors; ſince which it has continued ſo, with ſome modifications, and under certain regulations, formed by CHARLES the Fourth, at the Diet of Nurunberg. The election, however,

however, has been always ſo managed, that it has never departed from the regular line of ſucceſſion but when there was an actual want of heirs.

In a Country over which the Pope had ſuch influence, it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed that intolerance is carried to a great length; but it is not ſo, as a review of each particular State ſhews. The eſtabliſhed religion, in general, is Popery. JOSEPH the Second, that good and wiſe Monarch, diſplayed a greater ſpirit of toleration than any other Catholic Prince ſince HENRY the Fourth of France. He was not murdered by a Friar for it, it is true---thoſe days of pious barbarity are paſt; but he was viſited on the occaſion by His Holineſs, who, after a variety of remonſtrances againſt the relaxation he gave to religious ſeverity in his own dominions, finding him unmoved by papers, reſolved to attack him in perſon: but, whether it was that the pontifical amulet loſt its charm when out of the air of Rome, or that His Holineſs was not properly anointed before (like *Hecate* in *Macbeth*) he took his flight, or that he forgot ſome of thoſe relics which were expected to operate on JOSEPH's mind, ſo it was, that the good Emperor continued inflexibly attached to his former reſolve; and, after kiſſing His Holineſs' toe, and a thouſand other pretty politeneſſes, ſent him back to Rome again with his finger in his mouth; and a ſtory to relate, that would, at one time, have ſet all Europe in a flame, and ſent the good Monarch, like HENRY the Second of England, to laſh himſelf naked

naked over the rotten remains of ſome vagabond fraudulent Prieſt.

In the election of Emperor, the laws of the Empire have laid down no qualification but that which ought to be the *ſine quâ non* of all Princes, namely, that he be *juſtus, bonus, et utilis*--- Neither have they made any limitation in regard to religion, nation, ſtate, or age; nevertheleſs, the majority of electors being Papiſts, a Roman Catholic Prince is always choſen.

The rank of the Emperor is very great: he is looked upon by all Crowned Heads as the firſt European Potentate; and, as ſuch, precedence is always given him and his ambaſſadors: he is the ſupreme Head of the German Empire; but his power in the adminiſtration thereof is very limited indeed. In ancient times, the Emperor had conſiderable domains and incomes; but warfare and prodigality have diſſipated the greateſt part of them, and they have been ſucceſſively alienated or mortgaged, ſo that his revenues were very inconſiderable lately, and now, ſince the French war, are almoſt as nothing.

The preſent Emperor FRANCIS found the Empire, when he was elected, incumbered with difficulties of the moſt enormous magnitude---a war on which the exiſtence of every Monarchy in Europe ſeemed to depend, an exhauſted treaſury, and a diſpoſition to revolt in a part of his dominions, the Netherlands. At this preſent time, his ſituation is, beyond that of every other Prince, lamentable :---almoſt all his reſources gone, and an inſolent, formidable,

midable, triumphant enemy, proceeding and carrying conqueſt by rapid ſtrides through his Country. He called upon his People to ſupport him. The States of the Netherlands, inſtead of aſſiſting him to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, invited and opened their gates to them, put them in their boſom, and were ſtung. Of the other States, ſome refuſe their aid, while ſome have recourſe to feeble expedients; and, to evade the weight, temporiſe, procraſtinate, and ſhuffle, till at length will come the French Army, and force them to do for their enemy ten times more than (if done timely, and with a good grace) might ſave the Empire and themſelves. The KING of PRUSSIA, one of thoſe States, on being called upon, ſays he is buſily employed in ſecuring the plunder of Poland, and cannot come--- while the tyger is glutting in the blood of the harmleſs flocks, the huntſmen are coming upon him, to cut him off. As an Engliſhman, zealous for the welfare of my Country, I wiſh the KING of PRUSSIA may not, by his attention to Poland, ſacrifice all Germany to the French. As an honeſt man, I cannot help entertaining a wiſh, that the ſcandalous and outrageous wrongs done to Poland, and this treachery to the Allies whom he himſelf brought into the preſent difficulties, may be expiated by any calamity, however great, that does not extend to the intereſt or wellbeing of Europe.

It is a maxim in Courts of Equity, that a man coming to demand redreſs, ſhould come with clean hands, and, ſeeking equity, ſhould do equity. This maxim has unfortunately never yet extended to

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deciſions between States: power is their right, and force decides---Yet, in a conteſt like the preſent, the very foundation of which is hoſtility to Kings, and which is carried on in the twofold way of arms, in the open field and private negociation for inſurrection; when, for the intereſt of the cauſe they eſpouſe, as well as their own perſonal ſafety, Kings ſhould aſſume at once their beſt form to appreciate themſelves, and diſcredit their enemies in the eyes of Mankind---in ſuch a ſtate of things, I ſay, for the KING of PRUSSIA and the EMPRESS of RUSSIA to take the part they have done with regard to Poland, is ſo extravagant, that we can only account for it in the will of the ALMIGHTY prediſpoſing them for ſome extraordinary criſis. No one would expect them to depart from their accuſtomed crooked path of policy, if ſafety did not loudly call upon them to proceed in the direct road. It is monſtrous to ſee beings endowed with common ſenſe, expending themſelves in an unjuſt ſtruggle for aggrandizement, while the ſword of extinction is ſuſpended by a hair over their heads.

But to return---In this ſtate is the young Emperor at this moment, deſerted by his People in the Low Countries, unaided by his Continental Ally, and ſupported only by Great Britain. What the iſſue may be, GOD alone can tell: but every one poſſeſſing a heart of feeling, or a ſingle ſentiment of honour or juſtice, muſt wiſh that young Prince a fortunate delivery from the difficulties which the impolicy and wickedneſs of others have led him into, and which the treachery of ſome of them make more formidable, if not utterly inſuperable.

LETTER XV.

THE various diſtricts or territories into which Germany is divided, go under a variety of deſignations, not known among us as independent titles to power---Principalities, Seigniories, Counties, Electorates, Margravates, and Biſhoprics lay and ſpiritual. Of the lay Biſhoprics, Oſnaburg, the Prince Biſhop of which is our DUKE of YORK, makes one: and Leige, where we are now arrived, is the territory of a Biſhop lay and ſpiritual, or ſpiritual and temporal, one of the faireſt kind of that claſs---for he poſſeſſes temporalities, and enjoys them; whereas their Lordſhips merely ſpiritual, enjoy and have the ingratitude and impudence to renounce them: but no matter for that; the Biſhop of Liege poſſeſſes a Biſhopric, fruitful in corn, wine, wood and paſture, with air extremely pleaſant and temperate; and while the latter gives his terreſtrial clay health and appetite, the former afford him the means of preſerving the one, and indulging the other, with true ſpiritual comfort, and high eccleſiaſtical voluptuouſneſs. In caſes of repletion, too, the mineral waters of the Biſhopric, particularly the well-known one of Spa, offer their aid; and ſome of the beſt beer

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in the world, which is brewed in theſe territories, diverſifies his ſpiritual Lordſhip's cup, and, with its pungent bitter, ſends back his palate to his wine with renovated reliſh.

It is aſtoniſhing how inconſiſtent with themſelves, and how diſcordant in their conſtituent principles, ſome very wiſe inſtitutions are. Thus Epiſcopacy, and all other branches, poſts or ranks, high or low, commiſſioned or non-commiſſioned, of the Church, publicly and ſyſtematically profeſs poverty, abſtinence, and an utter indifference to temporal concerns, while their livings are enormous, and themſelves overfed. Nay, ſo cautiouſly has eccleſiaſtical law provided for that, even in our liberal eſtabliſhments, that a Biſhop, at his inſtalment, poſitively declares, in the face of GOD, at the holy altar, that he is averſe to being a Biſhop---*nolo Epiſcopari*. Under ſuch conditions, what muſt not the charity, the condeſcenſion, the mortifying ſubmiſſion of a Divine be, to ſtoop to a Biſhopric, and ſuffer ſuch a heavy load to be heaped upon his back---againſt his will! Aſſuredly, the impoſing a Biſhopric upon him muſt be a great act of violence on his inclinations: for I cannot think it poſſible that a Chriſtian Divine would, in the firſt place, commit the crime of ſimony by ſeeking preferment, and gaining it by proſtitution; much leſs can I believe that he would be guilty, at the holy altar, of a ſolemn act of perjury, by ſwearing *nolo Epiſcopari*, if he was not actually, and *bonâ fidê*, averſe to a Biſhopric.

The Biſhop of Liege, however, may be fairly acquitted on the ſcore of his temporal half, for the ſhare of tranſgreſſions committed by his ſpiritual half. And unqueſtionably, as a Chriſtian Divine, he muſt groan in ſpiritual humiliation, when he reflects that his title is emblazoned with the gorgeous vanities of Prince of Liege, Duke of Bouillon, Marquis of Franchemont, Count of Looz, &c. Such a ſet of proud worldly titles are of themſelves ſufficient (putting the wine and beer, and repletion, out of the queſtion) to annihilate the ſpiritual merits of the Biſhop, and expunge the grace of GOD from his name here, if not from himſelf hereafter.

Of all kinds of Slavery, that Nation groans beneath the worſt, which has the name, without the eſſence, of a free Conſtitution; and Germany abounds with ſuch. By the Conſtitution of this Biſhopric, the Government conſiſts of three States: the firſt is the Chapter of Liege; the ſecond, the Nobility; and the third, the Deputies of the towns and capital. Theſe, however, are very ſeldom called together, except to *raiſe taxes*, or on ſome ſuch *extraordinary* emergency: but there is a Committee of the States who meet three times a week, and in time of war daily; they are always about the Prince Biſhop, to make remonſtrances, and demand the redreſs of grievances---from whence we may reaſonably infer, that the People are well protected, or at leaſt well governed; the continual intercourſe between the Committee and Biſhops, no doubt, tending to promote a very happy influence in favour of the People!

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In forming this Conſtitution, ſpecial care has been taken to give the firſt State a great preponderance. The Chapter is to conſiſt of ſixty perſons, who muſt either prove their Nobility for four generations, both by father and mother, or have been Doctors or Licentiates of Divinity for ſeven years, or of Law for five years, in ſome famous Univerſity, before they can be admitted.

How is it that the profeſſion of the Law ſhould bear ſuch potent ſway in almoſt all Countries---that, even in Liege, a Catholic Country and Eccleſiaſtical Government, five years ſtudy of the Law ſhould be deemed an equal qualification. to ſeven of Divinity? In England, and its dependencies, the aſcendancy of the Law is ſtill greater; and even in America, that profeſſion is the firſt ſtep to State honours. The truth is, that the ſcience of the Law, which, however deſpicable in practice, is the nobleſt of human ſciences, quickens and invigorates the underſtanding more than all the other kinds of learning put together; while the ſtudy of Divinity (I do not mean real Divinity or Morality, but that whimſical jumble of miracles and incongruities, of fulſome cant and ſenſeleſs rhapſody, called ſo by Churchmen) contracts the underſtanding, and bends it into a kind of crooked cunning. Formerly, the Clergy were the diſpenſers of the Laws, and they alone ſtudied it---Happy times! happy People! When the united powers of both Lawyers and Prieſts were lodged in the ſame perſon, it is no wonder that they were able to enſlave the perſons, when they had got poſſeſſion of the underſtanding, of the People---that we at this day ſee ſo many

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ſtupendous monuments remaining of their pride and power, and that the bloated load of Epiſcopacy ſtill has its votaries and ſupporters.

The Biſhopric of Liege is very populous and extenſive, containing many large Towns, many Baronies and Seigniories, ſeventeen Abbeys for men, who muſt be all gentlemen, and eleven for ladies, excluſive of ſwarms of inferior note. In this diſtribution of the Abbeys, male and female, I do not think that ſufficient regard has been had to equality of numbers: I really think the Fathers have been ill uſed. The ladies, though, I dare ſay, are well enough contented with the arrangement.

Although, as I have already apprized you, I do not mean to enter into a minute deſcription of towns, ſo very eaſily found in many volumes of Geography and Hiſtory, there occaſionally occur certain curioſities in ſome of thoſe towns, which it would be unpardonable in me to paſs over, as they may not perhaps be found in ſuch books of thoſe ſciences as fall in your way.

Liege, the capital of the Biſhopric, is unqueſtionably a beautiful city, of immenſe ſize: its opulence, its pleaſantneſs, its plenty and ſalubrity, may be calculated from the name it has long been expreſſly called by way of eminence---*the Paradiſe of Prieſts.*---Indeed, it muſt needs be a holy and a happy city; for it is chiefly occupied with Convents, Churches, and other religious foundations.

The Paradiſe of Prieſts!---Excellent! Why, if the Genius of Senſuality himſelf were to torture his invention for centuries, to

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ſtrike out an appellation for the grand emporium of luxury, voluptuouſneſs and ſenſual enjoyment, he could not have hit on one ſo ſingularly appropriate as *the Paradiſe of Prieſts*.

In a grand Cathedral here, are five great ſilver cheſts full of reliques, beſides ſeveral ſilver ſtatues of Saints; and a Saint GEORGE on horſeback, of maſſy gold; and in Saint WILLIAM's Convent, without the city, is the tomb of the famous Engliſh traveller, Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE, from whom all lying travellers have been ſince proverbially called *Mandevilles*---an appellation which, I promiſe you, I will hazard the imputation of dullneſs rather than incur. I ſuppoſe it was for his truly prieſtlike powers in the *marvellous* that he was honoured with a birth among their Reverences. They have thought it neceſſary, however, to entreat, by an inſcription in bad French, all perſons who ſee it, to pray for his ſoul. In truth, poor Sir JOHN's marvellous ſtories were as harmleſs as ever were invented, and entertaining to boot. If ſo much could be ſaid for their Reverences, they might venture to reſt their future ſafety on their own innocence and GOD's mercy: but I fear their miracles cut deeper, and will be found to go to a much more important and ſerious account.

In the Biſhopric of Liege, twenty miles from the capital, ſtands the famous town of Spa, ſo renowned for its excellent waters, that it has become a vulgar name for almoſt all mineral waters whatſoever. Thoſe are ſaid to open obſtructions, concoct crudities, dry up exceſſive moiſture, and ſtrengthen the nerves and bowels; and

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ſuch is their reputation, that prodigious quantities of them are carried into foreign countries.

Fortunate coincidence, to have ſuch a choice and eaſy panacea for intemperance attached to *the Paradiſe of Prieſts!*

LETTER XVI.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE---The imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle, by the Germans called Achen, lies at the diſtance of twenty-ſix miles, nearly Eaſt, of Liege. As it was a moderate ſtage, the weather fine, and the face of the country around beautiful, I found my journey extremely pleaſant, and entered that famous city in as good a diſpoſition to be pleaſed with it, as circumſtances and reflections ſo melancholy as mine (which, in ſpite of every effort, would intrude themſelves) may be ſuppoſed to allow. It is certainly a very fine city, and well deſerves the reputation it has in all parts of the world.

Perhaps no city in Germany has a fairer claim to antiquity than Aix-la-Chapelle; for it was famous, even in the time of the ancient Romans, for its waters, and was by them called *Aquiſgranum*, or *Urbs Aquenſis*. It was deſtroyed by the Huns, who, like the French now, deſtroyed and trampled under foot every

every veſtige of refinement, wherever they carried their conqueſts; and it lay in ruins till it was rebuilt by CHARLEMAGNE, who made it the ſeat of his Empire on this ſide the Alps. By him it was ordained, that the Kings of the Romans ſhould be crowned there: and it has been famous, ſince that time, for Councils and Treaties, particularly that famous one between France and Spain in 1663, and another lately between France and Great Britain.

Although there are many Proteſtants, both Lutherans and Calviniſts, in this city, they are obliged to go to church two miles off, at a place called Vaels, in the Dutchy of Limburg; ſo that Popery prevails with ſome portion of its intolerance. Here, as in all other places ſubject to its power, it has raiſed the Gothic gloomy pile, accumulated enormous maſſes of wealth, and hoarded up treaſures, under the gulling pretexts of religious paraphernalia: a golden caſket, ſet with precious ſtones of ineſtimable value, is hoarded up, not for the actual value of the moveable, but as the only fit receptacle for a relique it contains---a curious one, too, of even its kind---a bit of earth!---A bit of earth? yes! a bit of earth, common earth!---only with this fortunate circumſtance in addition, that a drop of the blood of Saint STEPHEN fell, or is ſaid to have fallen, upon it, as he was ſtoned to death! think of that, maſter FREDERICK! Why, when thoſe things occur to me, I feel myſelf agitated by a whimſical tumult of ſenſations, ſerious and ludicrous, ſorrowful and merry, that it is impoſſible to deſcribe---ſomething like that ſtate in which the ſpirits flutter

when a perſon whimpers between a laugh and cry. But, to carry the matter farther, when we recollect that ſome of the wiſeſt and brighteſt of Mankind, ſome of the braveſt Warriors, ſterneſt Philoſophers, and ableſt Stateſmen, that ever exiſted, have been the dupes of thoſe ſhallow artifices, and actually have knelt in devout homage to theſe bits of earth, bone, ſticks and ſtone, &c. we muſt allow that it anſwers a great and noble end, by pointing out to us the infirmity of our nature, and ſhewing us, to uſe the words of one of our brighteſt luminaries, " what ſhadows we are, and what ſhadows we purſue!"

We have already had, and are likely yet to have, ſuch a clumſy load of Cathedrals to attend to, that I ſhould not mention that of Aix-la-Chapelle (a large, gloomy, dreary, old-faſhioned, Gothic pile), were it not that it carries along with it ſome matters worthy of notice. What think you, then, of an Emperor, a Pope, and three hundred and ſixty-five Biſhops, in one company? Oh! precious aſſemblage! But where, I hear you aſk---where, in the name of GOD, collect the Biſhops? a Pope and Emperor are eaſily had! My dear FREDERICK, three hundred and ſixty-five Biſhops might eaſily be picked up in Chriſtendom, and leave more behind, too, than would ſerve any uſeful purpoſe to the world.---Yes, the Emperor CHARLEMAGNE, and three hundred and ſixty-five Biſhops, were preſent at the Conſecration of this Cathedral by Pope LEO the Third. That Emperor lies now in great ſtate under the altar of the choir: Pope LEO rots in Rome; and for

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the Biſhops, they are gone, perhaps, as *Hamlet* ſays, "to ſtop a beer barrel."---

" Th' imperial CÆSAR, dead, and turn'd to clay,
" Might ſtop a hole, to keep the wind away."

From ſuch a ſplendid and opulent attendance at the Conſecration, one would naturally expect that this Cathedral would have been, at the very outſet, enriched with coſtly and valuable trappings: but no---one image of that of Liege would purchaſe the whole. It ſhould be recollected, however, that they were all, excepting the Emperor, Churchmen---a claſs, whoſe charity, generally ſpeaking, has, like a ring, neither end nor beginning; or at leaſt ends and begins in itſelf, where nobody can ſee it; or, according to the old proverb, begins at home.

To compenſate, however, for thoſe worldly, worthleſs vanities, gold, ſilver and jewels, His Holineſs, and their three hundred and ſixty-five Graces, preſented the Cathedral with ſome exquiſite pieces of relique, of more ineſtimable value, by their account, than the mines of Potoſi or Golconda: the firſt, an old covering ---it would be folly for me to ſay, whether gown, petticoat or ſhift---but they, that is to ſay, the Prieſts, ſay, and the Faithful believe them, that it was the ſhift worn by the Virgin MARY at the birth of CHRIST---how their Holineſſes came by it, is hard to conjecture:---in the next place, a piece of coarſe cloth, which, they alſo ſay, and are believed when they ſay, was girt about

CHRIST on the Croſs :---thirdly, a piece of cord, with which they ſay he was bound :---fourthly, ſome of the blood of Saint STEPHEN, now eighteen hundred years old :---and, fifthly, a picture of the Virgin and Child, emboſſed on a jaſper, by Saint LUKE. With all due deference to their Reverences' knowledge, I ſhould think a dozen ſtatues in gold of the Apoſtles would be rather a more valuable gift, and more ornamental, than theſe rags and cords, which I dare ſay did not coſt altogether ſix pence. We talk here of our blue ribbons, our red ribbons, and our ſtars, as great donations; but I think the preſents of the Pope and three hundred and ſixty-five Biſhops to the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, beat them out of the field, whether we conſider the magnificence of the gift, or the generoſity of the givers.

But that which, above all things, renders Aix-la-Chapelle worthy of notice, is the ſalubrity of its waters, which bring from England, and all other European Nations, a vaſt concourſe of valetudinarians, who contribute at once to the gaiety and opulence of the city and adjacent country. Some of thoſe waters are uſed for drinking, and others for bathing, reſembling very much, in their quality, the virtues of thoſe of Bath in Somerſetſhire, but that ſome of them are ſtill hotter and ſtronger: they are unpleaſant to the taſte till uſe reconciles the palate to them, and moſt of them have a very offenſive ſmell; but they are often powerful in effect, and give relief in a great variety of maladies; and they are rendered ſtill more palatable by the commodious neatneſs of the baths, the

excellence

excellence of the accommodations, and the great plenty of provi-ſions, which are at once good and reaſonable in this city.

I ſtaid ſo ſhort a time at Aix-la-Chapelle, that I could not, without the aid of ſome of the miracles wrought by the Saints of the Romiſh Church, or Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE, acquire a ſuffi-cient knowledge of the People, to attempt a deſcription of them, or their manners---but it and Spa are ſo well known, that you cannot have much trouble in finding a deſcription of them already written.

As far as my obſervations enabled me to judge, there was no-thing in the German character that had the power either to create intereſt, or excite great attention.--They are rather to be approved than admired; and, wanting thoſe prominent features that ſo whim-ſically chequer other Nations with the extremes of bad and good, majeſtic and ridiculous, afford little ſubject to the traveller for the indulgence of ſentimental reflection, or to the philoſopher for the exerciſe of moral ſpeculation.

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LETTER

LETTER XVII.

BIDDING adieu to the famous city of Aix-la-Chapelle, which, very untraveller-like, I paſſed without drinking of its waters, I puſhed on, and ſoon arrived at the city of Juliers, the capital of a Dutchy of that name, ſixteen miles from Aix. The Country itſelf is wonderfully fruitful, teeming with abundance of all ſorts of corn, wood, paſture, woad, coal and cattle; above all, a moſt excellent breed of horſes, of which great numbers are exported.

As to the city, though a capital, there was nothing in it that I thought worth attention---that of neatneſs is its greateſt praiſe. It is not, like Liege, overloaded with enormous church edifices; but, what is much better, the People are opulent, the Poor well ſupplied, and all happy. In all likelihood, this is owing to the inhabitants being a mixture of Proteſtant and Roman Catholic; for, By a treaty between the Elector Palatine and the Emperor of Brandenburg, reſpecting the ſucceſſion of the territories of the Duke of Cleves, both the Lutherans and Calviniſts of this Dutchy, and of Berg,

Berg, are to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all other religious rites.

If experience would allow us to wonder at any thing in the management of the Rulers of Nations, it must surely be matter of astonishment, that in an article of such consequence as eternity, and which must be directed by private sentiments alone, such violence should systematically be offered to opinion, and that Mankind should be dragooned, as they have been for so many weary centuries, into the profession of particular modes of faith. Combating opinion by force is so absurd, that I am sure those who have attempted it, never could flatter themselves with the slightest hopes of success. It is therefore clear, that it was in motives very different from real wishes for the eternal welfare of Man's soul, that religious persecution originated. Political finesse and State stratagem are the parents of persecution: and until every Constitution is clean purged of religious prejudices, it must continue to be clogged with obstructions, and involved in confusion. If it be objected that certain religious sects are hostile to certain States, it may be answered, that they are so because the State is hostile to them. Cease to persecute, and they will cease to be hostile---*Sublata causa tollitur effectus.* It is folly, broad folly, to suppose that there are in any particular religion, seeds of hostility to government, any more than in any particular name, complexion, stature, or colour of the hair. Put, for experiment, all the men in the kingdom, of above five feet ten inches heigth, under tests and disqualifications, (and it would be

full

full as rational as any other teſts)---and, my life for it, they would become hoſtile, and very juſtly, too; for there is no principle, human or divine, that enforces our attachment to that Government which refuſes us protection, much leſs to that which brands us with diſqualifications, and ſtigmatiſes us with unmerited marks of inferiority.

The States of this Dutchy, and that of Berg, conſiſt of the Nobility and the Deputies of the four chief towns of each; and they lay claim to great privileges in their Diets--but they are ſubject to the Elector Palatine, to whom they annually grant a certain ſum for the ordinary charges of the Government, beſides another which bears the name of a free gift.

Some Authors ſay that this town was founded by JULIUS; others deny it; the diſpute has run high, and is impoſſible to be determined: fortunately, however, for Mankind, it does not ſignify a ſtraw who built it; nor could the deciſion of the queſtion anſwer any one end that I know, of inſtruction, profit or entertainment. *Parva leves capiunt animos.* Thoſe who rack their brains, or rather their heads, for brains they can have none, with ſuch finical impertinent inquiries, ſhould be puniſhed with mortification and diſappointment, for the miſuſe of their time. But what elſe can they do? You ſay, Why, yes; they might ſit idle, and refrain from waſting paper with ſuch execrable ſtuff; and that would be better. By the bye, if there were two good friends in every library in Europe, licenſed to purge it, like the Barbar and Curate in *Don Quixotte,*

Quixotte, of all its uſeleſs and miſchievous ſtuff, many, many ſhelves that now groan under heavy weights would ſtand empty.

Travelling over a very even road, and a country extremely flat, (for from Aix-la-Chapelle I met with but one hill), I arrived at Cologne, the capital, not only of the Archbiſhopric of that name, but of the Circle of the Lower Rhine. My ſpirits, which were not in the very beſt tone, were not at all raiſed on entering the city, by the ringing of Church-bells, of all tones and ſizes, in every quarter. Being a ſtranger, I thought it had been a rejoicing day; but, on inquiry, found that it was the conſtant practice. Never, in my life, had I heard ſuch an infernal clatter: never before had I ſeen any thing ſo gloomy and melancholy---the ſtreets black---diſmal bells tolling--bald-pated Friars, in myriads, trailing their long black forms through the ſtreets, molding their faces into every ſhape that art had enabled them to aſſume, in order to excite commiſeration, and begging alms with a melancholy ſong calculated for the purpoſe, ſomewhat like that of our blind beggars in London, and productive of the ſame diſagreeable effect upon the ſpirits. In ſhort, I was not an hour in Cologne, when thoſe circumſtances, conſpiring with the inſuperable melancholy of my mind, made me wiſh myſelf out of it.

Nevertheleſs, Cologne is a fine city; and if it be any ſatisfaction to you to ſpin thoſe fine imaginary ligaments that, in the brain of the book-worm, connect the ancient and modern world, I will inform you, that it was anciently called *Colonia Agrippina*, becauſe

AGRIPPINA, the mother of NERO, was born there, and honoured it with a Roman Colony, becauſe it was her birth-place. The mind, forced back to that period, and contemplating the miſchiefs of that monſter NERO, cannot help wiſhing that Cologne had been burnt the night of her birth, and Miſs AGRIPPINA buried in the ruins, ere ſhe had lived to give birth to that ſcourge of the world.

Although the eſtabliſhed religion here be the Roman Catholic, extraordinary as it may appear, they are very jealous of power; and though the Elector, by his officers, adminiſters juſtice in all criminal cauſes, they will not permit him, in perſon, to reſide above three days at a time in the city, nor to bring a great train with him when he viſits it; for this reaſon he commonly reſides at Bonne.

Cologne has a very conſiderable trade, particularly in Rheniſh wine; and its gin is reckoned the beſt in the world, and bears a higher price than any other in all the Nations of Europe.

Like all great Roman Catholic cities, it has a profuſion of churches, croſſes, miracles, ſaints, and church trinkets; and I really think it has more ſteeples and bells than any two cities in Germany. As Liege was called the Paradiſe of Prieſts, this ought to be called the Golgotha of Skulls and Skull-caps. In the church of Saint URSULA, they ſhew, or pretend at leaſt to ſhew, the bones of eleven thouſand Virgin Martyrs. The ſkulls of ſome of thoſe imaginary Virgins are in ſilver caſes, and others in ſkull-caps, of cloth, of gold, and velvet. And in the church of Saint GERION, are no leſs

than

than nine hundred heads of Mooriſh Cavaliers, of the army of the Emperor CONSTANTINE, (previous to that Saint's converſion to Chriſtianity), who they ſay was beheaded for refuſing to ſacrifice to idols: by the bye, the Popiſh Divines burn, inſtead of beheading, for not ſacrificing to idols---Every one of thoſe heads, however, has a cap of ſcarlet, adorned with pearls. The whole forms a ſpectacle, no doubt, equally agreeable and edifying. It ſtruck me, however, as an extremely ludicrous ſight, malgre the ſolemnity of ſo many death's heads: and when their ſtory was recounted, I could not help internally chuckling, and ſaying (rather punningly, to be ſure), "Ah! what *blockheads* ye muſt have been, to ſuffer yourſelves to be ſeparated from your ſnug warm bodies, rather than drop down and worſhip an idol, in which ſo many good Chriſtian Divines have ſhewn you an example!" This, you will conclude, I ſaid to myſelf: an avowal of my ſentiments in that place might have given my head a title to a ſcarlet cap and pearls; and as I had ſome further uſe for it, I did not think it expedient to leave it behind me in the Church of Saint GERION---ſo, very prudently, kept my mind to myſelf.

Coming out of the Church, a multitude of beggars, all in canonicals, or ſtudent's habits, ſurrounded, beſeeching me for alms---one, pour l'amour de DIEU; another, pour l'amour de la Sainte Vierge; a third, pour le ſalut de notre Redempteur; a fourth, pour l'amour de Saint GERION; and ſo on!

When I had gone as far as I wiſhed in donations, another attacked me: though I told him my charity-bank was exhauſted, he perſevered, and was uncommonly ſolicitous---till at length, having exhauſted the whole catalogue of Saints that are to be found in the Calendar, he raiſed his voice from the miſerable whine of petition, and exclaimed with great energy, "Par les neuf cent tetes des Cavaliers Maures qui ſont ſanctifies au Ciel, je vous conjure de me faire l'aumone!" This was too formidable an appeal to be ſlighted; and ſo, in homage to the ſkulls and red caps, I put my hand in my pocket, and ſtopped his clamours.

Thoſe miſerable modes of peculation are the moſt pardonable of any produced by the Church: we have no right to regret a trifle ſacrificed at the ſhrine of compaſſion, even when that compaſſion is miſtaken; but our reaſon revolts at impoſition, when it calls coercion to its aid, and aſſumes the name of right.

Without any national predilection, which you know I am above, I think our Church affairs in Scotland are arranged upon a better ſyſtem than any other that I know of: hence their Clergy are in general examples worthy of imitation, for learning, piety, and moral conduct. !!

LETTER XVIII.

LABOURED inveſtigations to eſtabliſh connections between the hiſtory of the ancient and buſineſs of the modern world, and virulent diſputes about trifles of antiquity, ſuch as in what year this place was built, or that great man was born, when and where JULIUS CÆSAR landed in England, whether he paſſed this road or that, what route HANNIBAL took over the Alps, and ſuch like, are ſo eſſentially unintereſting, uſeleſs and unimportant, ſo unprofitable, and, one would think, ſo painful too, that it is wonderful how ſo many men of great learning have been unwiſe enough to employ their lives in the reſearch.

It does not follow, however, that when information that tends to recall to our minds the great men of antiquity is preſented to us, we ſhould reject it. A man of claſſical taſte and education feels a delight in thoſe little memorials of what gave him pleaſure in his youth. I know a Gentleman, who, being at Seville, in Spain, travelled to Cordova, for no other purpoſe but to ſee the town where LUCAN and SENECA were born: and I dare ſay, that if you were at Cologne, you would be much pleaſed to ſee the Town-houſe, a great Gothic building, which contains a variety of ancient inſcriptions,

tions; the firſt to commemorate the kindneſs of JULIUS CÆSAR to the Ubii, who inhabited this place, and of whom you have found mention made by him in his Commentaries, and alſo his building two wooden bridges over the Rhine: a ſecond commemorates AUGUSTUS ſending a colony here. There is alſo a croſs-bow of whalebone, twelve feet long, eight broad, and four inches thick, which they who ſpeak of it conjecture to have belonged to the Emperor MAXIMIN's. There are alſo ſome Roman inſcriptions in the arſenal, the import of which I now forget.

It is very extraordinary, but certainly a fact, that there are, about Cologne, families yet exiſting, who indulge the ſenſeleſs ambition of pretending to be deſcended from the ancient Romans, and who actually produce their genealogies, carried down from the firſt time this city was made a colony of the Roman Empire. Of all kinds of vanity, this is perhaps the moſt extravagant: for, if antiquity merely be the object, all are equally high, ſince all muſt have originated from the ſame ſtock; and if it be the pride of belonging to a particular family who were diſtinguiſhed for valour or virtue, a claim which often only ſerves to prove the degeneracy of the claimant, it could not apply in the caſe of a whole People: but this is among the frailties of humanity; and we are often ſo dazzled with the ſplendour of terreſtrial glory, that we endeavour to be allied to it even by the moſt remote and ridiculous connections. I heard of a man, whoſe pride and boaſt, when drunk, was, that Dean SWIFT had once thrown his mother's oyſters (ſhe was an oyſter-

oyſter-wench) about the ſtreet, and then gave her half a crown as an atonement for the injury. On the ſtrength of this affinity did he call the Dean nothing but *Couſin Jonathan*, though the Dean was dead before he was born!

But of all the ſtories I have ever heard as illuſtrative of this ſtrange ambition, that which the late Lord ANSON has left us is the moſt ſtriking. When that great man was travelling in the Eaſt, he hired a veſſel to viſit the iſland of Tenedos: his pilot, a modern Greek, pointing to a bay as they ſailed along, exclaimed in great triumph, "There, ay, there it was that our fleet lay."---"What fleet?" interrogated ANSON---"Why, our Grecian fleet, at the ſiege of Troy," returned the pilot.

While thoſe doughty deſcendants of the ancient Romans indulge the cheerleſs idea of their great and illuſtrious line of ancient anceſtry, the Prince who rules them felicitates himſelf with the more ſubſtantial dignities and emoluments of his modern offices. As Elector and Archbiſhop of Cologne, he has dominion over a large, fruitful and opulent country: he is the moſt powerful of the eccleſiaſtical Electors: he has many Suffragan Princes, lay and ſpiritual, under him; and he is Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire. The revenues of his Archbiſhopric amount annually to one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling; and as Elector, he is poſſeſſed of ſeveral other great benefices. I preſume, becauſe he is a Prince, that he is a man of ſenſe; and, I will venture to ſay, that, as ſuch, he would not barter thoſe good things for the

power

power to demonſtrate that LUCRETIA was his aunt, BRUTUS his grandfather, and the great JULIUS CÆSAR himſelf his couſin-german.

CHRIST choſe his diſciples out of fiſhermen. The Chapter of Cologne is, perhaps, on the contrary, the very moſt Ariſtocratic body exiſting, being compoſed of forty Canons, who are Princes or Counts of the Empire---Of thoſe, twenty-five chooſe the Archbiſhop, and may advance one of their own body to that great and wealthy dignity, if they pleaſe.

From Cologne I proceeded to the town of Bonne, which is ſaid to take its name from the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation. Here the Elector reſides, and has a very fine palace. The country around is extremely fruitful and pleaſant, and is bleſſed with moſt of the good things which render the Rich magnificent and happy, and remind the Poor of their inferiority and wretchedneſs---particularly wine, which is here remarkably excellent. It contains Churches, Prieſts, Convents, Cloiſters, &c.; but I need not mention them---what place could exiſt without them?

I ſhould not forget to tell you, that, at this place, JULIUS CÆSAR built one of his bridges acroſs the Rhine---works which would have handed down to poſterity the name of a common man, for the magnitude of the ſtructure and ingenuity of the contrivance, but are loſt in the crowd of aſtoniſhing talents which diſtinguiſhed that brighteſt of mortals. The greateſt Biographer of Antiquity ſays of him, that he was as great a General as HANNIBAL, as great

great an Orator as CICERO, and as great a Politician as AUGUSTUS; but it might be added, that he was among the firſt Poets of his day---that he was of the firſt mechanical genius, and the fineſt gentleman, in Rome.

Nature ſeems to have formed, in CÆSAR, a compendious union of all human talents, as if to demonſtrate how unavailing they were when oppoſed to ſtrict rigid honeſty and virtue in the character of BRUTUS.

To go from Bonne to Frankfort, there are two ways---one over the mountains of Wetterania, the other up the river Rhine. I made no heſitation to adopt the latter, and was rewarded for my choice with the view of as fine a country, inhabited by as fine a race of People, as I had ever ſeen. Valleys filled with herds, plains enamelled with corn-fields, and the hills covered with vineyards, regaled the eye, and conveyed to the mind all the felicitating ideas of plenty, natural opulence, and true proſperity. My anxiety, however, to get forward, and diſengage myſelf from a ſpecies of ſolitude in a country where, though travelling is cheap, accommodations of moſt kinds in the public houſes are bad, induced me to puſh on, without taking the time neceſſary for making accurate obſervations on the country as I paſſed; ſo that, gliding, as it were, imperceptibly, through a number of towns, of which I recollect nothing diſtinctly but the names of Coblentz and Mentz, I arrived at the great, free and imperial city of Frankfort on the Maine.

Here I ſhall ſtop, for a ſhort time, my relation, in order to give you time for juſt reflection and examination of what I have already written: and as, in the latter part of it, I have ſkimmed very lightly over the country, I deſire that you will ſupply the deficiency of my information by cloſe reſearch in books; inform yourſelf of the great outlines of the Germanic Conſtitution; look back to its origin, its progreſs, and its eſtabliſhment; thence proceed to the diſtinct parts, or inferior States, of which it is compoſed; ponder them all well; and from thoſe draw your own inferences, and let me hear what they are with freedom: ſhould they be wrong, I will endeavour to ſet them right; but ſhould they be right, they will afford me the moſt lively ſatisfaction; for they will ſerve to correct one of the greateſt errors under which youth labours---an overweening, ſanguine imagination, that things in this life are, or at leaſt can be modelled into perfection; whereas experience, and a juſt obſervation of the hiſtory of Mankind, will ſhew, that on this ball things will never be as they ought, but muſt remain as they are---imperfect.

LETTER XIX.

THE country about Frankfort is delightful, rich and fruitful, and watered by the beautiful river Maine, which divides the city into two parts, that on the North being called Frankfort, and that on the South, Saxenhauſen, from the Saxons, who are ſuppoſed to have been the founders of it. The city itſelf is large, populous and rich, and diſtinguiſhed for being the place where the Emperor and King of the Romans is elected---though, by the appointment of CHARLEMAGNE, Cologne has a ſuperior claim to that honour. The Magiſtrates, and great part of the inhabitants, are Lutherans or Calviniſts; notwithſtanding which, moſt of the Churches are in the hands of the Roman Catholics---a laudable inſtance of the true tolerant ſpirit of a wiſe and virtuous inſtitution, and a heavy reflection upon, as well as a noble example to the Popiſh Powers of Europe.

The territory belonging to Frankfort is of very conſiderable extent; and the trade carried on through it, by means of the rivers Rhine and Mayne, of very great importance, not only to the country itſelf, but to other commercial nations, and particularly

to Great Britain, whoſe manufactures are ſent to Frankfort, and thence circulated through the Continent, in amazing quantities.

The fairs of Frankfort are talked of all over Europe---of ſuch importance are they in the world of commerce. They are held, one at Eaſter, and another in September, and continue for three weeks, during which time the reſort of people there from all quarters is aſtoniſhing. Every thing is done by the Government to render them as attractive to Merchants as poſſible; and the taxes or duties are extremely low---a bale of the value of ten or twenty thouſand crowns paying duty only about ten or eleven pence of our money. All commodities from all parts of the world are ſold there, and circulated through the Empire; but, particularly, books are ſold in prodigious quantities. After the fairs are over, the ſhops of the foreign Merchants are ſhut up, and their names written over their doors.

To give an idea of the great importance theſe fairs are to commerce, I need only mention, that in the preſent war, the impediments thrown by the French in the way of the tranſit of goods up the Rhine, and the ſhutting up that fair, gave a moſt alarming paralyſis to the manufacturing eſtabliſhments of England, and a ſhock to public credit in conſequence, that would, but for the timely interference of Parliament, have, in all probability, been fatal to the national credit.

Frankfort is in many reſpects a pleaſant place: the Merchants are extremely convivial and ſociable, and form clubs, where they meet

meet to drink tea and coffee, and play at cards. There is a play-houſe alſo, a great number of coffee-houſes, and other houſes of entertainment in abundance. The country around is covered with woods and vineyards; and the circumjacent villages are very pleaſant, and well ſupplied with houſes of entertainment, to which the inhabitants of the city reſort in the Summer ſeaſon; and the inns in Frankfort are excellent.

A ſingular cuſtom prevails here, which I think worth mentioning: Taverns are denoted by pine-trees planted before the doors of them; and the different prices of the wines in their cellars are marked in ciphers on the door-poſts.

In the town here is preſented the original Golden Bull, or Pope's Authority, which contains the rules and orders to be obſerved at the election of the Emperors. This Golden Bull is never ſhewn to ſtrangers but in the preſence of two of the Council and the Secretary---It is a little manuſcript in quarto, conſiſting of forty-two leaves of parchment, with a gold ſeal of three inches diameter, of the value of twenty duckets, hung to it by a cord of yellow ſilk. It is ſaid to be written in Latin and Gothic characters, without diphthongs; and kept in a black box, together with two written tranſlations of it into the German language.

It is ſaid of Frankfort, that the Roman Catholics poſſeſs the churches, the Lutherans the dignities, and the Calviniſts the riches. It is therefore one of the few places in Chriſtendom where the churches and the riches do not go into the ſame hands.

From

From Frankfort to Augſburgh, I paſſed through a number of towns, all of them ſo very inconſiderable as not to merit any particular deſcription. The way lies from the Palatinate through the Circle of Suabia. In the extreme end of the Palatinate, and immediately before entering the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, the country is covered with fir-trees; and money is ſo ſcarce in it, that a loaf of wheaten bread, weighing eight pounds, coſts but two pence.

The city of Augſburgh is the capital of a Biſhopric of that name in the Circle of Suabia, and is worthy of the attention of the claſſical traveller for its antiquity. About twelve years before the birth of CHRIST, AUGUSTUS CÆSAR ſubdued all this country, and, on the place where Augſburgh now ſtands, formed a colony, gave the town the name of Auguſta Vindelicorum, and put it under the government of DRUSUS, the brother of TIBERIUS, afterwards Emperor of Rome. The inhabitants of this place were the Vindelic, a branch of the Illyrians. But, ancient though it be, it has little more of antiquity to entitle it to notice than the bare name; for it has been pillaged ſo often, particularly by that monſter ATTILA, that there are ſcarcely any remains of its antiquity to be found.

Augſburgh is now, however, a handſome city---the public buildings in general magnificent, and adorned with fountains, water engines of a curious conſtruction, and ſtatues.

The moſt rich and ſplendid part of the town belongs to a family of the name of FUGGERS (originally deſcended from a weaver), who enriched themſelves by commerce, and one of whom

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rendered not only himſelf, but the whole family, conſpicuous, by entertaining the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth in a ſuperb manner, and ſupplying him with money, and then throwing his bond into the fire; in return for which, the Emperor made him a Count of the Empire.

This city is remarkable for goldſmiths' ware; and its mechanics are equal to any in the world, for works in gold, ivory, clocks, and time-pieces; and they engrave better than any people in Germany, which brings them conſiderable profits. But what they are, above all other people, eminent for, is the manufacturing ſteel-chains ſo prodigiouſly fine, that when one of them, of a ſpan in length, has been put about the neck of a flea, it lifts up the whole of it as it leaps; and yet thoſe are ſold for leſs than a ſhilling of our money a piece.

Controverſy, and difference in religious opinions, which has almoſt, ever ſince the commencement of Chriſtianity, diſgraced the human underſtanding, and defaced ſociety, impoſes upon the liberal, well-thinking traveller, the office of ſatiriſt but too often. Augſburgh, however, is a ſplendid exception, and holds up a moſt glorious ſpectacle of manly ſenſe, generous ſentiment, juſtice, and I will ſay policy too, vanquiſhing that ſhark-jawed enemy of Mankind, bigotry. The Magiſtracy of Augſburgh is compoſed of about an equal number of Proteſtants and Roman Catholics---their Senate conſiſting of twenty-three Roman Catholics and twenty-two Lutherans, and their Common Council of a hundred and fifty of each:

each: The executive power is lodged in the Senate---the legiſlative authority in both bodies. But, what is hardly to be found any where, they all, as well as the People, agree together in the moſt perfect harmony, notwithſtanding the difference of religion; and at all tables but the Communion table, they aſſociate together, dip in the ſame diſh, and drink of the ſame cup, as if they had never heard of the odious diſtinction of Papiſt and Proteſtant, but as being bound to each other by the great and irrefragable bond of humanity: fellow-creatures, affected by the ſame feelings, impelled by the ſame paſſions, labouring under the ſame neceſſities, and heirs to the ſame ſufferings, their means of aſſuaging the one, gratifying or reſiſting another, and ſupplying the third, are the ſame, though chequered and varied a little in the mode---the road alone different, the ends alike. Is it not cruel, then---is it not intolerable, that the calamaties inſeparable from humanity ſhould be aggravated with artificial ſtings, and the nakedneſs of human nature expoſed, and rendered more offenſive, by factitious calamities of human contrivance? Curſed were thoſe who firſt fomented thoſe diſputes, and caſt thoſe apples of diſcord through the world: blind were they who firſt were ſeduced from the paths of peace by them; and more curſed, and more blind, muſt they be, who, in this time of intellect and illumination, continue, on the one hand, to keep up a ſyſtem ſo wicked and ſo deteſtable, or, on the other, to ſubmit to error at once ſo fooliſh and ſo fatal.

LETTER

LETTER XX.

FOR the reaſons mentioned in my laſt, Augſburgh is a moſt agreeable place to live in. Touched with the ſenſations natural to a man who loved to ſee his fellow-creatures happy, my heart expanded to a ſyſtem of peace and harmony, comprehending the whole globe: my mind expatiated involuntarily on the bleſſings and advantages derived from ſuch a ſyſtem; and, taking flight from the bounds of practicability, to which our feeble nature is pinned on this earth, into the regions of fancy, had reared a fabric of Utopian mold, which, I verily believe, exceeded in extravagance the works of all the Utopian architects that ever conſtructed caſtles in the air.

Hurried on by this delightful viſion, my perſon paid an involuntary obedience to my mind; and the quickneſs of my pace increaſing with the impetuoſity of my thoughts, I found myſelf, before I was aware of it, within the Chapel-door of the Convent of the Carmelites. Obſerving my error, I ſuddenly turned about, in order to depart, when a Friar, a goodly perſon of a man, elderly, and of a benign aſpect, called me, and, advancing towards me,

aſked, in terms of politeneſs, and in the French language, why I was retreating ſo abruptly---I was confuſed: but truth is the enemy before whom confuſion ever flies; and I told him the whole of my miſtake, and the thoughts from which they aroſe.

The good father, waving further diſcourſe on the ſubject, but with a ſmile which I thought carried a mixture of benevolence for myſelf, and contempt for my ideas, brought me through the Church, and ſhewed me all the curioſities of the place, and particularly pointed out to me, as a great curioſity, a ſun-dial made in the form of a Madonna, the head enriched with rays and ſtars, and in the hand a ſceptre which marked the hours.

Quitting the Chapel, and going towards the Refectory, the Friar ſtood, and, looking at me with a ſmile of gaiety, ſaid, "I have yet ſomething to ſhew you, which, while Lady Madonna marks the time, will help us to paſs it; and, as it will make its way with more force and ſubtlety to your ſenſes than thoſe I have yet ſhewn you, will be likely to be longer retained in remembrance."

He ſpoke a few words in German, which of courſe I did not underſtand, to a viſion bearing the ſhape of a human creature, who, I underſtood, was a lay-brother; and, turning down a long alley, brought me to his cell, where we were ſoon followed by the aforeſaid lay-brother, with a large earthen jug of liquor, two glaſſes, and a plate with ſome delicately white biſcuit.

"You muſt know," ſaid the Friar, "that the Convent of Carmelites at Augſburgh has for ages been famed for beer unequalled

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in any part of the world; and I have brought you here to have your opinion---for, being an Engliſhman, you muſt be a judge, the Britons being famed for luxury, and a perfect knowledge of the *ſcavoir vivre*." He poured out, and drank to me: it looked liker the cleareſt Champaigne than beer---I never taſted any thing to equal it; and he ſeemed highly gratified by my expreſſions of praiſe, which I laviſhed upon it, as well from politeneſs, as regard to truth.

After we had drank a glaſs each, "I have been reflecting," ſaid the Friar, "on the ſingular flight of fancy that directed your ſteps into this Convent---Your mind was diſeaſed, my ſon! and a propitious ſuperintending Power has guided your ſteps to a phyſician, if you will but have the goodneſs to take the medicine he offers."

I ſtared with viſible marks of aſtoniſhment.

"You are ſurpriſed," continued he; "but you ſhall hear! When firſt you diſcloſed to me thoſe fickly flights of your mind, I could on the inſtant have anſwered them: but you are young---you are an Engliſhman---two characters impatient of reproof: the dogmas of a Prieſt, I thought therefore, would be ſufficiently difficult to be digeſted of themſelves, without any additional diſtaſte caught from the chilling auſterity of a Chapel."

I looked unintentionally at the earthen jug, and ſmiled.

"It is very true," ſaid he, catching my very inmoſt thoughts from the expreſſion of my countenance---"it is very true! good

doctrine may, at certain times, and with certain perſons, be more effectually enforced under the cheering influence of the ſocial board, than by the authoritative declamation and formal ſanctity of the pulpit; nor am I, though a Carmelite, one of thoſe who pretend to think, that a thing in itſelf good, can be made bad by decent hilarity, and the animation produced by a moderate and wiſe uſe of the goods of this earth."

I was aſtoniſhed---

"You fell into a reverie," continued he, "produced by a contemplation of the happineſs of a ſociety exiſting without any difference, and where no human breath ſhould be waſted on a ſigh, no ear tortured with a groan, no tears to trickle, no griefs or calamities to wring the heart."

"Yes, father!" ſaid I, catching the idea with my former enthuſiaſm; "that would be my wiſh---that my greateſt, firſt deſire."

"Then ſeeſt thou," interrupted he, "the extent of thy wiſh, ſuppoſe you could realize it, which, thank GOD! you cannot."

"What! thank GOD that I cannot? are theſe your thoughts?"

"Yes, my ſon; and ere Madonna marks the progreſs of ten minutes with her ſceptre, they will be your's too."

"Impoſſible!"

"Hear me, my ſon!---Is not death a horrible precipice to the view of human creatures?"

"Aſſuredly,"

"Aſſuredly," ſaid I---"the moſt horrible: human laws declare that, by reſorting to it for puniſhment, as the ultimatum of all terrible inflictions."

"When, then," ſaid he, "covered as we are with miſery, to leave this world is ſo inſupportable to the human reflection, what muſt it be if we had nothing but joy and felicity to taſte of in this life? Mark me, child!" ſaid he, with an animated zeal that gave an expreſſion to his countenance beyond any thing I had ever ſeen: "the miſeries, the calamities, the heart-rendings, and the tears, which are ſo intimately interwoven by the great Artiſt in our natures as not to be ſeparated in a ſingle inſtance, are in the firſt place our ſecurity of a future ſtate, and in the next place ſerve to ſlope the way before us, and, by gradual operation, fit our minds for viewing, with ſome ſort of fortitude, that hideous chaſm that lies between us and that ſtate---death. View thoſe miſeries, then, as ſpecial acts of mercy and commiſeration of a beneficient Creator, who, with every calamity, melts away a link of that earthly chain that fetters our wiſhes to this diſmal world. Accept his bleſſings and his goods, when he ſends them, with gratitude and enjoyment: receive his afflictions, too, with as joyous acceptance, and as hearty gratitude. Thus, and not otherwiſe, you will realize all your Utopian flights of deſire, by turning every thing to matter of comfort, and living contented with diſpenſations which you cannot alter, and, if you could, would moſt certainly alter for the worſe.

I ſat

I ſat abſorbed in reflection---The Friar, after ſome pauſe, proceeded---

" Errors ariſing from virtuous diſpoſitions and the love of our fellow-creatures, take their complexion from their parent motives, and are virtuous. Your wiſhes, therefore, my ſon! though erroneous, merit reward, and, I truſt, will receive it from that Being who ſees the receſſes of the heart; and if the truths I have told you have not failed to make their way to your underſtanding, let your adventure of to-day impreſs this undeniable maxim on your mind---ſo limited is Man, ſo imperfect in his nature, that the extent of his virtue borders on vice, and the extent of his wiſdom on error."

I thought he was inſpired; and, juſt as he got to the laſt period, every organ of mine was opened to take in his words.

" 'Tis well, my ſon!" ſaid he---" I perceive you like my doctrine: then (changing his manner of ſpeaking, his expreſſive countenance the whole time almoſt anticipating his whole words) take ſome more of it," ſaid he gaily, pouring out a freſh glaſs. I pleaded the fear of inebriety---" Fear not," ſaid he; " the beer of this Convent never hurts the intellect."

Our converſation continued till near dinner-time; for I was ſo delighted, I ſcarcely knew how to ſnatch myſelf away: ſuch a happy melange of piety and pleaſantry, grave wiſdom and humour, I had never met. At length, the Convent-bell tolling, I roſe: he took me by the hand, and, in a tone of the moſt complacent admonition, ſaid, " Remember, my child! as long as you live, remember

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the Convent of the Carmelites; and in the innumerable evils that certainly await you if you are to live long, the words you have heard from old Friar AUGUSTINE will afford you comfort."

"Father!" returned I, "be aſſured I carry away from you a token that will never ſuffer me to forget the hoſpitality, the advice or the politeneſs of the good father AUGUSTINE. Poor as I am in natural means, I can make no other return than my good wiſhes, nor leave any impreſſion behind me: but as my eſteem for you, and perhaps my vanity, make me wiſh not to be forgotten, accept this, (a ſeal ring, with a device in hair, which I happened to have on my finger); and whenever you look at it, let it remind you of one of thoſe, I dare ſay innumerable, inſtances, in which you have contributed to the happineſs and improvement of your fellow-creatures."

The good old man was affected, took the ring, and attended me to the Convent gate, pronouncing many bleſſings, and charging me to make Augſburgh my way back again to England if poſſible, and take one glaſs more of the Convent ale.

LETTER

LETTER XXI.

LEAVING Augſburgh, I travelled through Bavaria a long way before I reached the Tyrol County, of the natural beauty of which I had heard much, and which I therefore entered with great expectations of that ſublime gratification the beauties of Nature never fail to afford me. I was not diſappointed; indeed, my warmeſt expectations were exceeded.

The firſt thing that ſtrikes a traveller from Bavaria, on entering it, is the fort of Cherink, built between two inacceſſible rocks which ſeparate Tyrol from the Biſhopric of Freiſingen. So amply has Nature provided for the ſecurity of this Country againſt the incurſion of an enemy, that there is not a paſs which leads to it that is not through ſome narrow defile between mountains almoſt inacceſſible; and on the rocks and brows of thoſe paſſes, the Emperor has conſtructed forts and citadels, ſo advantageouſly placed, that they command all the valleys and avenues beneath.

After a variety of windings and turnings through mountains of ſtupendous height and awful aſpect, I began to deſcend, and entered the moſt delightful valley I had ever beheld---deep, long,

and

and above a mile in breadth---ſurrounded with enormous piles of mountains, and diverſified with the alternate beauties of nature and cultivation, ſo as to form an union rarely to be met with, and delight at once the eye of the farmer, and the fancy of him that has a true taſte for rural wildneſs. From the heights in deſcending, the whole appeared in all its glory; the beautiful river Inn gliding along through it longitudinally, its banks ſtudded with the moſt romantic little villages, while a number of inferior ſtreams were ſeen winding in different courſes, and haſtening to pour their tribute into its boſom.

Here I felt my heart overwhelmed with ſenſations of tranſport, which all the works of art could never inſpire: here Nature ruſhed irreſiſtible upon my ſenſes, and, making them captive, exacted their acknowledgment of her ſupremacy: here vanity, ambition, luſt of fame and power, and all the tinſelled, gaudy, frippery to which habit and worldly cuſtom enſlave the mind, retired, to make way for ſentiments of harmony, purity, ſimplicity, and truth: here Providence ſeemed to ſpeak in language moſt perſuaſive, "come, ſilly Man, leave the wild tumult, the endleſs ſtruggle, the glittering follies, the falſe and ſpurious pleaſures which artifice creates, to ſeduce you from the true---dwell here---and in the lap of Nature ſtudy me:" Here, oh! here, exclaimed I, in a tranſport which bereft me, for the time, of every other conſideration, here will I dwell for ever. The charm was too finely ſpun, to withſtand the hard tugs of fact; and all its precious

deluſions vaniſhed before a hoſt of gloomy truths---deranged affairs---family far off, with the diſtance daily increaſing---the hazards and the hardſhips of a long untried journey---and the Eaſt Indies, with all its horrors, in the rear. I hung my head in ſorrow; and, offering up a prayer to protect my family, ſtrengthen myſelf, and bring us once more together in ſome ſpot heavenly as that I paſſed through, was proceeding on in a ſtate of dejection proportionate to my previous tranſports, when I was rouſed by my poſtillion, who, pointing to a very high, ſteep rock, deſired me to take notice of it. I did ſo; but ſeeing nothing very remarkable in its appearance, aſked him what he meant by directing my attention to it---He anſwered me in the following manner, which, from the ſingularity of the narrative, and his ſtrange mode of telling it, I think it would injure to take out of his own words: I will, therefore, endeavour, as well as I can, to give you a literal tranſlation of it; and, indeed, the impreſſion it made on my memory was ſuch, that, I apprehend, I ſhall not materially differ from his words:

"You muſt know, Sir, (for every one in the world knows it), that all theſe mountains around us, are the abodes of good and evil ſpirits, or Genii---the latter of whom are continually doing every malicious thing they can deviſe, to injure the people of the country, ---ſuch as leading them aſtray---ſmothering them in the ſnow---killing the cattle by throwing them down precipices---nay, when they can do no worſe, drying up the milk in the udders of the goats---and, ſometimes, putting between young men and their ſweethearts,

ſweethearts, and ſtopping their marriage. Ten thouſand curſes light upon them! I ſhould have been married two years ago, and had two children to-day, but for their ſchemes. In ſhort, Sir, if it were not for the others---the good ones---who are always employed (and the bleſſed Virgin knows they have enough on their hands) in preventing the miſchiefs of thoſe devils, the whole place would be deſtroyed, and the country left without a living thing, man or goat!"

Here I could not, for the life of me, retain my gravity any longer, but burſt, in ſpite of me, into an immoderate fit of laughter, which ſo diſconcerted and offended him, that he ſullenly refuſed to proceed with the ſtory any farther, but continued marking his forehead (his hat off) with a thouſand croſſes, uttering pious ejaculations, looking at me with a mixture of terror, diſtruſt and admiration, and every now and then glancing his eye aſkance toward the hills, as if fearful of a deſcent from the evil ſpirits.

My curioſity was awakened by the very extraordinary commencement of his narrative; and I determined, if poſſible, to hear it out: ſo, aſſuring him that I meant nothing either of ſlight or wickedneſs by my laughter---that I had too ſerious ideas of ſuch things to treat them with levity---and, what was more convincing logic with him, promiſing to reward him for it---he proceeded with his ſtory as follows:

"Well, Sir, you ſay you were not ſporting with thoſe Spirits---and fortunate it is for you: at all events, Saint JOHN OF GOD be our

guide, and bring us ſafe to Innſpruck. Juſt ſo the great MAXIMILIAN was wont to laugh at them; and you ſhall hear how he was puniſhed for it---and that was the ſtory I was about to tell you. The Emperor MAXIMILIAN, that glory of the world, (he is now in the lap of the bleſſed Virgin in Paradiſe), once on a time, before he was Emperor, that is to ſay, when he was Archduke, was always laughing at the country people's fears of thoſe ſpirits---and an old Father of the Church forewarned him to beware, leſt he ſhould ſuffer for his raſhneſs: ſo one day he went out hunting, and at the foot of that mountain a moſt beautiful Chamois ſtarted before him; he ſhot at it, and miſſed it---(the firſt ſhot he had miſſed for many years, which you know was warning enough to him)---however, he followed, ſhooting at and miſſing it, the animal ſtanding every now and then till he came up within ſhot of it: thus he continued till near night, when the goat diſappeared of a ſudden, and he found himſelf buried, as it were, in the bowels of the mountain: he endeavoured to find his way out, but in vain; every ſtep he took led him more aſtray, and he was for two days wandering about, CHRIST ſave us! in the frightful hollows of thoſe mountains, living all the time on wild berries: on the ſecond night he bethought himſelf of his want of faith, and of the ſaying of old Father JEROME; and he fell on his knees, and wept and prayed all night; and the Virgin heard his prayers, he being a good man, and, above all, an Emperor---GOD bleſs you and me! we ſhould have periſhed---In the morning, a beautiful young man, dreſſed in a peaſant's habit,

came

came up to him, gave him victuals and wine, and desired him to follow him, which he did, you may be sure, joyfully---but, oh blessed Virgin! think what his surprise must have been, when, getting again into the plain out of the mountain, the young man disappeared and vanished all of a sudden, just at the foot of that steep rock which I shewed you, and which ever since goes by the name of the Emperor's rock---You see what a dangerous place it is, and what dangerous spirits they must be that would not spare even the holy Roman Emperor. In my mind, the best way is to say nothing against those things, as some faithless people do, and to worship the Virgin and keep a good conscience, and then one will have the less to fear."

By the time he had ended his narrative, we were in sight of Innspruck, when I annoyed and terrified him afresh, by laughing immoderately at the end of his story---but attoned in some measure for it, by giving him half a florin.

On inquiring at Innspruck, I found that MAXIMILIAN had actually lost his way in the mountain, and had been conducted out of it by a peasant, who left him suddenly; the rest was an exaggerated traditionary tale, arising from the superstitious fears of the country people.

LETTER

LETTER XXII.

In all Nations under Heaven, and at all times ſince the Creation, there have been men formed to make a noiſe in the world---to increaſe or impede, to direct or diſturb, the calm, ſober progreſs of ſocial life---and, in the eagerneſs and violence of their efforts to reach the gaol of ſuperiority, overturn or thruſt out of their ordinary path the reſt of Mankind, till either they provoke againſt them a general conſpiracy of their fellow-creatures, or, till reaching the point of their purſuit, they become elevated objects of homage and admiration. Such men are generally compoſed of great materials for miſchief:---having ſtrong natural talents and violent ungovernable ſpirits; according to the direction theſe get, they are harmleſs or miſchievous---but, like morbid matter in the animal ſyſtem, if not let looſe by ſome channel or other, they never fail to diſturb the whole economy of the body they belong to, and produce fatal conſequences to it and to themſelves: Colonial poſſeſſions have, therefore, in ſome views, been of uſe (as America formerly to England) to draw off thoſe dangerous ſpirits, who, though they are in times of peace better at a diſtance, in times of war are found to be the tougheſt ſinews of a Nation.

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The county of Tyrol, ſuch as I have deſcribed it, formed by Nature for the reſidence of the Sylvan Deities, rich in the products of the earth, the people contented and happy, and the whole the region of peace; manufactures, the firſt root of low vices, and commerce, the great inſtigator of war, have ſcarcely been able to ſet their feet there: hence it happens, that there is no channel through which thoſe exuberant ſpirits I have alluded to can take their courſe, or expand their force. Home, therefore, is no place for thoſe of the Tyroleſe, who are curſed or bleſſed (call it which you pleaſe) with thoſe very combuſtible qualities; and they are obliged to roam abroad in ſearch of opportunities of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, giving vent to their ſpirits, and manifeſting their talents. They are found, therefore, ſcattered all over the Continent: and as it rarely happens that opportunities occur in life of ſignalifing ſuch talents in a dignified line, rather than be idle they do what they can, and apply to chicanery as a wide and appropriate field for their genius and vigour to work on---the emigrant Tyroleſe are, therefore, by moſt Nations of the Continent, reckoned among the moſt expert and accompliſhed ſharpers in the world---the people, however, who remain at home, are of a different character---they are, generally ſpeaking, tall, robuſt and vigorous; the women ſtrong, and very fair; and both ſexes exhibit a very pleaſing mixture of German phlegm and Italian ſprightlineſs; or, to ſpeak more properly, they are a mean between thoſe two extremes.

Innſpruck,

Innſpruck, though a ſmall city, is handſome and agreeable, ſtanding in a very beautiful valley, ſurrounded with mountains, which, while their lower parts are well cultivated, are capped on the tops with perennial ſnow. The caſtle formerly the reſidence of the Auſtrian Princes is ſtately and magnificent, adorned within with fine paintings, and decorated without by natural and artificial fountains, ſtatues, pleaſant gardens, groves, walks and covered galleries, leading to five different Churches.

A-propos---Let me not forget the Churches! In a chapel of the Franciſcan Church, there is an image of the Virgin MARY as big as the life, of ſolid ſilver, with many other images of Saints of the ſame metal. If ſome of thoſe ſilver Deities were transferred to Paris, I fear their divinity would not ſave them from the hands of the ſacrilegious Convention. One thing, however, is well worth the attention of travellers, particularly thoſe who wiſh to wipe away the ſins of a deceaſed friend, and get them a direct paſſport to happineſs---This Franciſcan Church is held to be one of the moſt ſacred and venerable in the world, on account of the indulgences granted to it by ſeveral Popes; ſo that one ſingle Maſs ſaid in it, is declared to be ſufficient to deliver a ſoul from the pains of purgatory. When we conſider the great and important extent of their power in that reſpect, we cannot wonder if they had all the Saints in the Calendar, and the Virgin MARY to boot, in ſolid ſilver, even of the ſize of the Coloſſus at Rhodes.

Hall, the ſecond city in Tyrol, lies one league from Innſpruck: it is famous for its ſalt-works, and for a mint and ſilver mines, in which

which ſeven thouſand men, women, and children, are conſtantly employed.

At a royal palace and caſtle called Ombras, lying at equal diſtance from Innſpruck and Hall, there is an arſenal, famous for a prodigious collection of curioſities, ſuch as medals, precious ſtones, ſuits of armour, and ſtatues of ſeveral Princes on horſeback, in their old rich fighting accoutrements; beſides great variety of military ſpoils and trophies taken by the Houſe of Auſtria; in particular, a ſtatue of FRANCIS the Firſt and his horſe, juſt as they were taken at the battle of Pavia, and two others of Turkiſh Baſhaws, with the coſtly habits and appointments with which they were taken, embelliſhed with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. But, above all their curioſities, the moſt extraordinary is an oak incloſing the body of a deer: this laſt, however unaccountable, is fact; and equals, I think, any of the wonders in the metamorphoſes of OVID.

Leaving Innſpruck, I proceeded on my journey, and ſoon entered into the mountains, which are there of a terrible height---I was the beſt part of a day aſcending them: as I got near the top, I was ſhewn, by my driver, the ſpot where FERDINAND, King of Hungary, and the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth, met, when he returned from Africa, in the year 1520. It is marked with an inſcription to that effect, and has grown into a little village, which, from that circumſtance, bears the name of the Salutation.

Although this mountain, called Bremenberg (or Burning-hill), is covered with ſnow for nine months in the year, it is inhabited

to the very top, and produces corn and hay in abundance: at the higheſt part there is a poſt-houſe, a tavern, and a chapel, where the traveller is accommodated with freſh horſes, proviſions, and, if he chooſes, a mouthful of prayers---I availed myſelf of the two firſt; but the latter being not altogether in my way, I declined it, for which I could perceive that I was, by every mouth and eye in the place, conſigned to perdition as a Heretic.

Juſt at this ſpot there is a ſpring of water which falls upon a rock, and divides into two currents, which, at a very ſmall diſtance, aſſume the appearance, and, in fact, the magnitude too, of very large rivers. The mountain is ſometimes difficult to paſs, ſometimes abſolutely impracticable---I was fortunate, however, in this reſpect; for I got over it without any very extraordinary delay, and on my way was regaled with the moſt delicious veniſon that I have ever taſted in my life; it was ſaid to be the fleſh of a kind of goat.

Although it is but thirty-five miles from Innſpruck to Briſen, I was late when I reached the latter; and as it contained nothing worth either the trouble or delay attending the ſearch of, I ſet out the next morning, and, travelling with high mountains on one ſide, and a river all along upon the other, arrived at a town called Bolſano, in the Biſhopric of Trent. The country all along was thickly inhabited, and the mountains perfectly cultivated and manured even to their higheſt tops. On entering the valley of Bolſano, I found the air becoming obviouſly ſweet, delightful and temperate;

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the vineyards, and all the trees and ſhrubs, olives, mulberries, willows and roſes, &c. all of the moſt lively green, and every thing marking the moſt luxuriant vegetation.

Bolſano is a ſmall, but extremely neat and pleaſant town---but nothing I ſaw about it pleaſed me ſo much as their vineyards, which are planted in long terraces along the ſides of the hills, and are formed into the moſt beautiful arbours, one row above another.

From Bolſano to Trent, is fifty-one miles, a good day's journey: almoſt the whole of it lies through the valley of Bolſano, a moſt fruitful and pleaſant---indeed, delightful road, which made the day's journey appear to me much ſhorter than it really was.

Perhaps no part of the habitable globe is, within the ſame comparatively ſmall compaſs of earth, ſo wonderfully diverſified by the hand of Nature in all her extremes, as that through which I have juſt carried you. There, under almoſt the ſame glance of the eye, were to be ſeen the ſtupendous, the rugged, the ſavage, and the inacceſſible---the mild, the fruitful and the cultivated. Here, the mountain capped with perpetual ſnow, gradually falling in blended gradations of ſhade, far beyond the reach of the artiſt's pencil, into the green luxuriant valley; and there, the vineyard, the olivary, and the rich corn-field, burſting at once from rugged rocks and inacceſſible faſtneſſes: the churliſh aſpect of the tyrant Winter for ever prowling on the mountain's head above---perpetual ſpring ſmiling with all her faſcinating charms in the plains below. Such ſcenes as theſe would baffle all efforts of the poet's pen or painter's

pencil: to be conceived, they muſt be ſeen. I ſhall therefore cloſe my account of them with a ſtrong recommendation to you, that whenever you travel for improvement, you go through the County of Tyrol, and there learn the great and marvellous working of Nature.

LETTER XXIII.

PERHAPS the learned unwiſe men of the world, who ſpend their lives poring after impoſſibilities, have never met with a more copious ſubject of puzzle-pated enjoyment than the derivation of the names of places. In all diſputed caſes on this ſubject, the utmoſt within human reach is conjecture; but the joke of it is, that, fortunately for Mankind, the certainty of it would not be of a ſingle button advantage to them, even if it could be acquired by their ſearch. Doctor GOLDSMITH, in his *Citizen of the World*, has thrown this matter into high ridicule; and I recommend it to your peruſal, leſt this ſhadow of literature ſhould one day wheedle you from more reſpectable purſuits. Trent has afforded vaſt exerciſe to book-worm conjectures in this way; for, while ſome pronounce it to be derived from Tridentum, and

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for this purpoſe will have it that NEPTUNE was worſhipped there, though ſo far from the ſea---others claim the diſcovery of its derivation from Tribus Torrentibus, or three ſtreams which run there. Now, as to the firſt, excluſive of forcing NEPTUNE all the way from the Gulph of Venice to their temples, I cannot find any ſuch ſimilarity in the ſound of Trent and Trident to warrant the inference; and as to the Tribus Torrentibus, they might as well ſay that a primmer or hornbook was found there, and that thence it was derived from the Alphabet, ſince the ſame analogy ſubſiſted between them, namely, that the letters T,R,E,N,T are to be found in both. But, in the name of God, what ſignifies what it was called after? Its name is Trent; and if it had been Putney, or John o' Groat's houſe, the town would be neither the better nor the worſe, nor the treaſures of literature ſuffer any defalcation from the difference.

The Biſhopric of Trent is about ſixty miles long, and forty broad---fertile, and abundant in wine, oil, fruit and paſture---and pleaſant, the beautiful river Adige meandering through the whole of it from North to South. The inhabitants are bigoted Roman Catholics---you will the leſs wonder, then, that the Biſhop ſhould have ſo extenſive a Principality, and an annual revenue of forty thouſand crowns.

As I receded from Germany, and advanced towards Italy, I found the air, the perſons and the manners of the People, to diſplay a very great difference, and to reſemble thoſe of the Italians

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more than thoſe of the Germans. Though Popiſh bigotry be pretty ſtrong in many parts of Germany, it no where there aſſumes the gloomy, deteſtable aſpect that it does in Italy.

And now, ſince I have happened to mention the characters of thoſe two People, I may as well, once for all, more particularly as we are got to the verge of both, give you them in full; in both which I am warranted in ſaying, that all who know the two will agree with me.

Perhaps contraſt was never more perfectly exemplified than in a compariſon between the Germans and Italians; and that contraſt ſtrikes more forcibly and ſuddenly in paſſing from one Country to the other, than it would in ſo ſhort a ſpace between any two People exiſting. The Italians, jealous, revengeful, treacherous, diſſembling, ſervile, vicious, ſanguinary, idle and ſenſual. The Germans, on the contrary, open, good-natured, free from malice and ſubtlety, laborious, ſincere, honeſt and hoſpitable---and, with thoſe valuable qualities, properly complaiſant. So happy is the character of this People, that to be German-hearted has long been a phraſe ſignifying an honeſt man who hated diſſimulation: and their hoſpitality was, even in the days of JULIUS CÆSAR, remarkable; for we learn from him, that their houſes were open to all men---that they thought it injuſtice to affront a traveller, and made it an article of their religion to protect thoſe who came under their roof. Did not intemperance in eating and drinking detract from their virtues, no People on earth would bear compariſon with them

them for intrinſic worth, and particularly for integrity in dealing.

The city of Trent, though not very large in circumference, is populous. The high mountains which ſurround it, ſubject it to all the inconveniences of heat and cold---rendering the air exceſſively hot in Summer, and extremely cold in Winter; beſides which, they expoſe the town to dreadful inundations---the torrents that deſcend from the mountains being ſometimes ſo impetuous as to roll large pieces of rock with them into it, and having ſeveral times laid the whole place waſte.

There are in Trent many ſtately Palaces, Churches and religious houſes. The only one, however, that I will particularize, is that of Saint MARY MAJOR, noted for a prodigious large organ, which can be made to counterfeit all ſorts of muſical inſtruments, together with the ſinging of birds, the cries of ſeveral beaſts, and the ſounds of drums and trumpets, ſo exactly, that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh between the imitation and the reality. To what an end ſuch an inſtrument ſhould be ſet up in a place of worſhip, I am at a loſs to divine, unleſs it be to add to the rich, uſeleſs lumber that fills all thoſe of Popiſh Countries.

But that which diſtinguiſhes this Church ſtill further, is, that it is the place where the famous Council of Trent was held, concerning the Reformation, at which four thouſand perſons of a public character, Laymen and Eccleſiaſtics, aſſiſted. This Council ſat eighteen years before it did any thing: but at laſt the Pope

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contrived to get the aſcendant; and, after debating and deliberating ſo long, not only the Proteſtants, but even the German and French Nations, refuſed to receive its decrees. Certain of the Clergy, finding the aſcendancy that the negociation of the Pope was getting in this council, ſaid that the Holy Ghoſt had been ſent there from Rome in a *cloakbag!*

Trent once boaſted a curioſity---which indeed ſtill remains, though out of uſe---that, I think, would be found ſerviceable in moſt towns in Chriſtendom, and elſewhere too, and particularly at Bath, and ſuch places. It was a tower on the river Adige, into which the ſtream was conducted, for the purpoſe of drowning ſuch of the Clergy as were convicted of having been too familiar with their neighbours' wives and daughters!

The People of Trent ſpeak promiſcuouſly, and indifferently, both the German and Italian languages; but whether well or not, I was not adept enough to diſcover.

My next ſtage was Baſſano, a town in the territory of Vincenza in Italy, ſituated at the end of a very long narrow valley. It is watered by the river Brenta. which waſhes that very rich, fertile, ſerene, healthy and plentiful diſtrict of Italy, ſo celebrated for its admirable wines, as well as for its fine paſture-grounds, rich corn-fields, and prodigious abundance of game, cattle, and mulberry-trees; from all which it is called the Garden and Shambles of Venice.

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The next day I arrived at an early hour at Venice, the deſcription of which I ſhall not injure by commencing it with the mutilated fragment of a Letter, and ſhall therefore poſtpone it to my next.

Thus, my dear FREDERICK, have I, in order to preſerve the unity and order of my progreſs, brought you through Germany with a preciſe regularity, that, if I was not wiſhing for your improvement, might be diſpenſed with---yet have left much, very much indeed, untouched, in the confidence that you will yourſelf have the induſtry to find it out.

I confeſs, my dear boy, that I have often, as I wrote, detected myſelf in excurſions from the road into moral reflection---but I could not ſtop: your improvement was my object in undertaking the buſineſs; and I could not refrain from endeavouring to inculcate ſuch leſſons as the progreſs of the work ſuggeſted, and as impreſſed my mind with a conviction of their truth and utility.

You muſt have obſerved, that there are two topics on which I dwell very much---one, LIBERTY---the other, an abhorrence of Bigotry and Superſtition. But, before I proceed further, I muſt call to your remembrance what I have often ſaid, that by Liberty I do not mean that which ſome people now give that name to---nor do I mean Religion when I ſpeak of Bigotry; for true Liberty is ſtill more incompatible with Anarchy than with Deſpotiſm, and Superſtition is the greateſt enemy of Religion. Let the firſt object of your heart and ſoul be true Morality---the next, rational Liberty:

but remember, that the one is not to be found independent of Religion, nor the other ever to be enjoyed but under the reſtraining hands of wholeſome laws and good government---ſuch as England now boaſts.

In theſe times, when human opinion is actually polled on the two extremes of political judgment, I know, that to ſpeak rationally, is to incur the cenſure of both, or to be, as POPE ſomewhere ſays, " by Tories called a Whig, by Whigs a Tory :" But I care not---I ſpeak my opinion with the fair face of independence ; nor would ſcruple to tell the KING of PRUSSIA my hatred of Deſpotiſm, or the Convention of France my abhorrence of Anarchy---between both of which the true and genuine point of Liberty lies ; and England, thank GOD ! draws the line.

LETTER XXIV.

As I approached Venice, I was much delighted with its appearance. Its ſtately ſteeples and noble buildings ſeemed as if juſt emerging from the ſea, and floating on the ſurface of it ; and it required no great ſtretch of fancy to imagine, that it undulated with the agitated waves of its parent the Adriatic. On all the ſurrounding coaſts, nature and art ſeemed to have vied with each other

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in pouring the greateſt profuſion of their gifts, while thouſands of maſts, ſcattered like foreſts over the ſurrounding bays, denoted that Venice; not content with her own, ſhared in the wealth and luxuries of other climes.

It is indeed difficult to conceive a more extraordinary and pleaſing appearance than this city makes at a diſtance, whether you approach it from the ſea or from the continent. Built not like towns in Holland, where immenſe moles and walls puſh the ſea forward, and encroach on his dominion, it ſtands on piles erected in the ſea; and the foundations of the houſes almoſt touching the water, gives it the appearance of floating on its ſurface. The ſteeples are ſeen at ſea at the diſtance of thirty miles; and the proſpect becomes more beautiful the nearer it is approached---preſenting in many views the proſpect of floating iſlands.

To erect a city thus upon the water, while ſo many thouſands of acres ſtand unoccupied, at firſt ſight ſeems extraordinary---but all thoſe great and ſtrange deviations from the ordinary path preſented by Nature, have their ſource in neceſſity; and it is not till long after the neceſſity has been firſt lamented, and afterwards obviated, that experience comes into aid, and demonſtrates, that, from her, ſecurity and utility have often ariſen. Thus it is with Venice, who, fortified by her local ſituation (the effort of neceſſity), ſits ſecure, and bids defiance to the world.

The place where Venice now ſtands, is ſuppoſed to have been formerly a marſhy ground, on which the Adriatic Sea had gradually encroached, leaving the more elevated parts of it above

water, and thereby forming a vaſt number of little iſlands, hence called Lagunes: on thoſe the fiſhermen of the neighbouring ſhores built their huts; and when Italy was invaded by the Goths under ALARIC, and afterwards by that barbarous race, the Huns, under ATTILA, both of whom ſpread ruin and deſolation wherever they came, vaſt numbers of people from the circumjacent ſhores of the Adriatic, particularly from Padua and Aquileia, fled hither, and brought along with them immenſe wealth. Here they laid the firſt foundations on ſeventy-two diſtinct little iſlands, and certainly with huts, of a city which afterwards ſtood almoſt foremoſt in the naval and commercial world: as thoſe iſlands were built upon, and became over-peopled, they gradually puſhed forward their piles, and built upon them again, till the whole became one vaſt city, extending to many more of thoſe iſlands beyond the original ſeventy-two.

As it was indebted, in a great meaſure, for its riſe and importance to the commerce of the Eaſt, which then was carried on by way of the Red Sea and Alexandria, when the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope was diſcovered, that trade declined, and Venice declined gradually along with it.

It is amazing, what an extent of territory and accumulation of power the Venetians once poſſeſſed. Beſides their preſent poſſeſſions, which comprehend the territories of Padua and Verona, the Vincentine, the Breſcians, the Bergamaſes, the Cremaſco, the Poleſin of Rovigo, Marca Trevigiana, the Patria del Friuli, and Iſtria, they had under their dominion the iſlands of Rhodes, Scio,

Scio, Samos, Mytilene, Andros, Candia, the Morea, and the cities of Gallipoli and Theſſalonica: beſides which, they, in conjunction with France, took Conſtantinople, and remained for ſome time maſters of that part of the Empire; and diſputed the dominion of Sclavonia, Croatia, Morlachia and Dalmatia, with the Kings of Hungary, and contended with the Genoeſe for the empire of the ſea: but of a great part of theſe, and their other conqueſts, they have ſince been ſtripped, almoſt entirely, by the Turks.

As to the government of Venice, I ſhall not enter into any particulars of its hiſtory---It is called a Republic, and was once a Democracy. The name remains, while that which gave it is gone. It is, certainly, now a downright Ariſtocracy---the privilege of ſitting in the great Council being confined to the Nobility; and the Doge, under the name of Head, being no more than a gaudy ſlave, loaded with fetters: yet, ſuch is the idle fondneſs of Man for ſuperficial pomp, that this office is ſought after with avidity; for though his power be ſmall, his ſtate is very ſplendid. Hence it is ſaid, that the Doge of Venice is a king in his robes, a ſenator in council, a priſoner in the city, and a private man out of it; and what is more extraordinary, is, that though he may be depoſed, he cannot reſign---nor even decline the office, if he be once choſen, without expoſing himſelf to baniſhment, and his effects to confiſcation.

The eſtabliſhed religion of this State is the Roman Catholic; but the Venetians are not bigots, and reject the ſupremacy of the Pope. Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Proteſtants, are allowed the

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exercise of their religion there; and, provided they do not intermeddle with state affairs, of which they are extremely jealous, even their Priests, Monks and Nuns, may take almost any liberties they please---a privilege that you may be assured is not neglected by any of them.

As few places have excited greater admiration and attention than Venice, so none have been more copiously described by travellers, every one of whom may, when he returns to his native country, give a very accurate account of the public buildings, curiosities, paintings, &c. by only translating the book given to him by his Valet de Place, or Cicerone, on his arrival there---It is certain, Venice abounds with all those, particularly paintings; but I had not the time minutely to investigate; nor should I have the inclination, if I did, to describe such things: they are open to you in many well written volumes, which I recommend to your perusal. Such things, however, as strike me for their novelty, or difference from those in other places, I will, as well as I can recollect them, give you an idea of.

To their local situation they owe their security---separated from *terra firma* by a body of water of five miles in breadth, too deep to be forded, and too shallow for vessels of force to pass; and on the other sides, by scattered shallows, the channels between which are marked out by stakes, which, on the appearance of an enemy, they can take away; they bid defiance to hostile army or navy, and have not been reduced to the necessity of erecting walls or fortifications for their defence.

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The firſt peculiarity that ſtrikes me, as ariſing immediately from their living, I may ſay, in the ſea, is the total excluſion of all ſort of carriages; for thoſe ſtreets that are on firm ground are extremely narrow and crooked; and on moſt of the canals, ſo far from having a quay on either ſide to walk on, the water comes up to the doors of the houſes; ſo that walking is but little known, for they get into a boat off their threſhold, and their firſt ſtep out of it again is, ten to one, on the threſhold of another. This circumſtance, though in ſome reſpects it has its uſes, is, in others, extremely diſagreeable, as well as injurious; for, though thoſe who have occaſion to labour have a ſufficiency of exerciſe, thoſe whoſe condition exempts them from labour, and who, therefore, in all other countries, reſort to artificial labour (exerciſe) for the promotion of health, are here entirely cut off from all ſuch means of it as we practiſe, having neither hunting, ſhooting, riding, bowling, &c. &c. nor can they have them, unleſs they go to the Continent for them. The chief amuſements of the Venetians are reſerved for the Carnival time, which commence about a week after Chriſtmas, and which, therefore, I could not ſee; but, from the concurrent teſtimony of all travellers and the People themſelves, as well as from the evidence of my own obſervation on the manners of the People, I am well warranted in ſaying, are feſtivals of debauchery, riot and licentiouſneſs. This is a ſubject on which I am, nevertheleſs, diſpoſed to believe, that more has been ſaid than truth will bear out---yet, a bare ſtatement

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of the truth would, I fear, bear hard enough upon the moral character, or at leaſt the piety, of the Venetians.

That maſquerades are the very worſt ſchools of vice; the private anecdotes of the *beau monde* even in England might ſuffice to demonſtrate---That courtezans are found loſt to all ſenſe of modeſty and common decency, the ſtreets of London afford nightly proofs ---Therefore, that maſquerading (which is the chief amuſement of the Venetians) ſhould cloak many crimes, and that their courtezans ſhould be ſhameleſs and their women lewd, is no ſuch wonder, ſeeing, as we do, thoſe things in this Northern clime; but we may, without any illiberality, ſuppoſe, that, from phyſical cauſes of the moſt obvious kind, they are carried to a greater extent there than here: though one of the moſt enlightened and amiable of all travellers ſays it would be hard to be proved, yet, with deference to him, I think it may be rationally ſuppoſed.

There is an active principle in the mind of Man which will not ſuffer it to reſt; it muſt have ſome materials to work upon. Men, enlightened by ſcience, have within themſelves a fund, and can never want food for contemplation; but the many, in thoſe hours when a ſuſpenſion of labour or wordly buſineſs drives them to expedients for the employment of their time, are but too prone to leave the mind to the guidance of the ſenſes, and to cogitate on vice till they wiſh to practiſe it. Hence that homely but true ſaying, "Idleneſs is the root of all evil." In England we have a variety

variety of expedients which the Venetians want, whoſe minds being beſides naturally more vivid, are more prompt to give a looſe to the warm illuſions of ſenſual fancy. Thus prepared, they meet the Carnival, when every thing conſpires to give circulation to indulgence; and when thoſe operations of the mind which with us have ſo many channels to diſcharge themſelves, with them, like a vaſt ſtream ſuddenly confined to one narrow channel, burſt forth with an irreſiſtible torrent, and carry away before them every bond that religion or morality has laid down as reſtraints on the exuberance of human paſſion. The cuſtoms and habits of the place and time contribute to it; for, while the ſevere reſtrictions of the female ſex for the reſt of the year ſharpen both inclination and invention on the one hand---on the other, the unbounded licenſe, the univerſal change of habits, cuſtoms and laws---the total ſuſpenſion of all diſtinction, care, or buſineſs which take place at that time, aided by perpetual maſquerade---and thoſe moſt convenient of all receptacles, the gondolas, with thoſe moſt expert and forward of all pandars, the gondoliers---afford ample ſcope to their wiſhes, and form altogether a maſs of circumſtances in favour of vicious indulgence, not to be found in any other part of Chriſtendom; to reſiſt which, they muſt be more virtuous than any other people---a point never yet laid to their charge by the beſt-natured and moſt extenuating of all thoſe who have written upon that ſubject.

LETTER XXV.

PROFLIGATE though the People of London are, I will not allow that it is ſo vicious a city as Venice. That there are in it, and indeed in all capitals, individuals who have reached the higheſt achme of ſhameleſs debauchery and depravity, it would be fooliſh to deny: but that concubinage is practiſed in the ſame open way, ſo generally, or ſo ſyſtematically as at Venice, no one will venture to aſſert. I truſt the day of depravity and indelicacy is far removed from us, that will exhibit a Britiſh mother arranging a plan of accommodation for her ſon, and bargaining for a young virgin to commit to his embraces---as they do in Venice---not as wife, but as concubine. On that one cuſtom of the Venetian ladies I reſt my poſition; and have no heſitation to avow, that all the private concubinage of London amounts not to ſuch a flagrant conſummation of moral turpitude and ſhameleſs indelicacy as that practice to which I allude.

The Venetian men are well-featured and well-ſhaped---the women, well-ſhaped, beautiful, and, it is ſaid, witty: but I had *that within* which robbed every object of its charms; and I might

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ſay with HAMLET, that " Man delighted not me, nor Woman either."---In ſhort, not all the beauties and novelty of the place, not all the pleaſures that ſtare the traveller in the face, and ſolicit his enjoyment, not all the exquiſite looks of the ladies, could rouſe my mind from its melancholy, or fix my attention---I grew weary of Venice before I had been many hours in it, and determined to graſp at the very firſt opportunity that offered for my departure.

I had arranged, in my own mind, a plan to proceed to Latachea, a conſiderable ſea-port town in Syria, and thence to Aleppo; whence, as it was a great Eaſtern mart, I entertained hopes that I ſhould find a ſpeedy, or at leaſt a certain conveyance, by a caravan, acroſs the deſerts, to Baſſorah, and little doubted but that I ſhould find a veſſel at ſome of the Venetian ports, either bound, or belonging to a ſea-port of ſuch commerical conſequence, upon which I could procure a paſſage---But in this I was diſappointed; for, on the fulleſt inquiry that I could make, I found that there was only one ſhip ready to ſail, and no probability of any other for a conſiderable time after---I did every thing I could to avail myſelf of this conveyance, but was diſappointed, owing to a young lady being paſſenger, who was daughter to the owner of the veſſel---and the old gentleman did not approve of an Engliſh Officer being of the party with his daughter. I uſed every argument without ſucceſs, urging the Reſident, Mr. STRANGE, who had behaved very politely to me during my ſhort reſidence at Venice, to intereſt himſelf about it: I likewiſe entreated Mrs. S[illegible]RANGE, an amiable, pleaſant woman,

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to exert her endeavours, and made her laugh, by propoſing to her to give me a certificate of my behaviour, and to pledge herſelf to the old gentleman that the happineſs or honour of his family would not be diſturbed by me during the paſſage.

Hearing, however, that a ſhip lay at Trieſte, which was to ſail thence for Alexandria in Egypt, I determined to embrace that opportunity, and, inſtead of my former intended route, go to Grand Cairo, thence to Sucz, and ſo down the Red Sea, by way of Mecca, to Moca, and thence to Aden, where company's veſſels, or India country traders are always to be found going to one or other of the Britiſh ſettlements.

I accordingly ſet out for Trieſte, with all the impatience of a ſanguine mind, anxious to change place, eager to puſh forward, and full of the new route I had laid down---the charms of which, particularly of ſeeing Grand Cairo, the Land of Egypt, and the Pyramids, were painted by my imagination in all the glowing exaggerated colours of romance. The Captain of the veſſel was then at Venice, and I accompanied him to Trieſte, which is about ſixty miles from Venice.

Soon after our arrival at Trieſte, I had the mortification to find, that the veſſel was by no means likely to keep pace with the ardour of my mind, and that, owing to ſome unforeſeen event, her departure was to be delayed; ſo, after a few of thoſe effuſions which may be ſuppoſed on ſuch an occaſion to eſcape a man of no very cool temper hanging on the tenterhooks of expectation, I found

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it neceſſary to ſit down, and patiently wait the revolution of time and event, which nothing could either impede or accelerate.

It has often been remarked, and is held as a point of faith by Predeſtinarians, that ſome men are doomed by fate to diſappointment---and that, when they are ſo, no wiſdom can obviate, no vigilance provide againſt, nor no reſolution reſiſt, her decrees; but, that, in ſpite of all the efforts of reaſon and induſtry, a ſeries of ſiniſter events ſhall purſue them through life, and meet them at every turn they attempt to take. Such has been my lot for the greateſt part of my life---but I have neither faith enough in Predeſtination, nor ſelf-love enough, ſo far to blind me to my own faults, as to ſuppoſe that lady Fate had any thing at all to do with it. No, no; it was often owing to a temper, warm, impatient and uncontrouled, which, in almoſt all caſes of momentary embarraſſment, chaſed reaſon from her office, uſurped her place, and decided as chance directed. Let every man examine the grounds of all his ſerious diſappointments in life with candour, and he will find phyſical cauſes to which to aſſign them, without reſorting to ſupernatural. For my part, when I hear a man ſay that he has been all his life purſued by ill-fortune, I directly conclude, that either he has been a blunderer, or thoſe he dealt with, brutes. In the ordinary operation of earthly contingencies, miſchances will happen; but an uniform life of miſchance can only ariſe from miſmanagement, or a very extraordinary chain of human injuſtice---

Theſe reflections aroſe from the following incident:

I had procured a ſervant to attend me on my journey, who, from my ſhort obſervation of him, promiſed to contribute very conſiderably to my comfort, my convenience, and, indeed, to my ſecurity as he was apparently honeſt, ſincere, active and clever in his duty, and maſter of ſeveral languages, and particularly of the *lingua Franca*, a mixture of languages, peculiarly uſeful in travelling through the Eaſt. Finding that I was likely to be delayed at Trieſte, and conceiving that in this interim letters from England, for which I moſt ardently longed, might have arrived at Venice for me, I imprudently and impetuouſly ſent him to Venice, for the purpoſe of taking them up, and carrying them to me. But gueſs what muſt have been my feelings when I found, almoſt immediately after his departure, that the veſſel was preparing to ſail, and that I muſt either loſe my paſſage or my ſervant: anxious though I was to get forward, and grievous though my former delay had been to me, I heſitated which to do; but prudence, for once, prevailed over inclination; and I determined, at all events, to depart, under all the embarraſſment attending the want of a ſervant and linguiſt, and all the poignant feelings of having been acceſſary to the diſappointment, and perhaps the injury of a poor fellow, whom I really conceived to be a perſon of merit. In our paſſage to Alexandria, we touched at Zante, an iſland on the coaſt of Greece, belonging to Venice: it was anciently called Zacynthus---

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is about fifty miles in circumference, and contains fifty thousand inhabitants. Never before had I tasted any thing equal to the delicious flavour of the fruits of this island---the grapes exquisite, and the melons and peaches of prodigious bigness and unequalled flavour. The island is abundantly fruitful in wine, currants, oil, figs and corn, but is very subject to earthquakes. Near the seaport which we entered is as great a curiosity in Nature as is any where, I believe, to be found. Two spring wells of clear fresh water throw up large pieces of real pitch, in such quantities, that, it is said, the people collect, one year with another, one hundred barrels of it, which they use in paying their shipping and boats.

In the first stages of melancholy, consolation is rejected by the mind as premature. The heart, intent, as it were, upon supping full of woe, disclaims all advances of comfort, and feeds on grief alone. Hence the truly skilful in the human heart consider premature consolation as an aggravation of woe, and comfort only with condolence, well knowing that the tide of grief must take its course, and that, until it be first full, no hopes can be had of its retiring. The full force of this I began now to feel. The disquietude of domestic embarrassment---the bitterness of separation from all I loved---the solitary sadness of my situation, wandering through unknown countries---myself unknown and unfriended---aggravated at length by the loss of my servant, who was a sort of prop to my spirits---and my being cast into a ship among a people whose language I little understood, without any soul or one circum-

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ſtance to mitigate my ſorrow, or conſole me under it; all theſe, I ſay, had wound up my feelings to the higheſt pitch of fortune---More miſerable I could not be when the Iſland of Zante received me, and, for the firſt time for a ſad ſeries of days, raiſed me with the tranſporting ſound of an Engliſh voice.

I have promiſed, my FREDERICK, to give you a candid relation, in hopes that you will improve by it: but if I thought, that, on the contrary, any thing I ſaid ſhould tend to raiſe in your mind a ſentiment injurious to your principles, or reflective on your father's conduct, but to be an example and admonitory guide to your own, I ſhould condemn my candour and curſe the hour that I wrote---but, I truſt to your good ſenſe and diſpoſition, with my care to direct them; and ſhall, but not without heſitation, proceed. But, as I have already ſpun out this Letter to ſuch an extent, I will defer my further relation to another.

LETTER XXVI.

AT the time I ſet out upon my journey over land to India, I was (though married, and the father of children) very young, naturally of a ſanguine conſtitution: my attachment to the fair ſex was no ways diminiſhed by a military education; and a warmth

a warmth of temper, an ardent ſenſibility of mind, and a frank unſuſpicious diſpoſition, left me but too often to regret the facility with which I yielded to the charms of women. But the regret for each error was willfully ſmothered in vain determinations of amendment---and the promiſed amendment again broken in upon by ſome new error. Thus it was, till riper years and circumſtances of weight ſtrengthened my reaſon, and gave it in ſome greater degree that dominion it ſhould have over my actions.

Circumſtanced as I have in my laſt Letter deſcribed myſelf to be, and conſtituted by nature and education as I have mentioned above, I landed in the charming iſland of Zante, where Nature herſelf ſeems to have conſpired againſt chaſtity---making the very air breathe nothing but tranſport and delight. There I met a young lady, a native of England---extremely pretty, highly accompliſhed, and captivating in the extreme: ſhe had been at Venice for her education---was a complete miſtreſs of muſic, and expreſſed an intention of following it profeſſionally on her arrival in England, whither ſhe was going paſſenger in a veſſel bound there from Zante. To have accidentally met with a native of England, even of my own ſex, in ſuch a diſtant corner of the world, under ſuch circumſtances as mine, juſt eſcaped from the horrid life I had for ſome time led, muſt have filled me with joy: allowance, therefore, may be made for my feelings on meeting this young lady, and for my thinking of

ſome expedient to prevent our ſeparation. She laboured, perhaps, under the preſſure of feelings as diſagreeable as my own, and expreſſed her ſatisfaction at meeting with a countryman ſo very unexpectedly. Reſerve was ſoon thrown off on both ſides: we entered into a converſation intereſting and confidential, which increaſed my anxiety to keep her with me, and in order to perſuade her to accompany me, I pointed out in the ſtrongeſt colours poſſible, the great advantages ſhe might derive from her accompliſhments in India, where her muſical talents alone, excluſive of her various captivating qualities, would be an inxehauſtible mine of wealth. In ſhort, I ſo very eagerly enforced my propoſal to accompany me, and time was ſo very ſhort, that ſhe conſented, and in two hours we had arranged every thing for our departure together--- and here with ſhame and ſorrow I confeſs (nor ſhall ever ceaſe to reget it), that this eccläireciſſement communicated the firſt ray of ſubſtantial pleaſure to my heart that it felt ſince I left London.

Thus far, our project ſailed before the wind: wayward imagination had decked it out in the moſt alluring drapery that fancy could fabricate, and prevented us from ſeeing the impracticability of it, as it ſtood in the nakedneſs of truth; and when it came to be carried into execution, a thouſand difficulties occurred, that the wildneſs of paſſion, and the warmth of our feelings, had before concealed from our view. In the firſt place, it was neceſſary for her to obtain the conſent of a lady to whoſe care and protection ſhe was committed: in the next place, accommodations were to be

procured

procured for her in the ſame ſhip with me---a circumſtance of moſt arduous difficulty; beſides which, a variety of other impediments---inſuperable indeed---concurred to fruſtrate our views, and put an end to our project. If my pleaſure at meeting her was great, my anguiſh at parting with her was inexpreſſible. I had once more to face the world alone; and, on the ſecond day of my ſojourning at Zante, embarked with a heavy heart, and ſet ſail for Alexandria. The laſt diſappointments we undergo, ſeem always the heavieſt; and this at Zante I thought at that time to be the greateſt of my life. But---oh! ſhort-ſighted Man! bubble of every deluſive ſhadow! I never reflected, as I have ſince done, what ſerious miſchiefs, what endleſs miſery, what loſs of time, means and reputation, I may by that providential diſappointment have eſcaped---for theſe are the almoſt never-failing conſequences of ſuch affairs. It too often happens, that the ſyren who deludes a man into her ſnares, is the very perſon who inflicts the deadly wound into his heart. Avoid, my dear FREDERICK! avoid all ſuch, as you would avoid plague, peſtilence, or ruin---ſteel your heart by timely reflection againſt their advances. In all your tranſactions with women, like a good General in warfare, ſecure for your heart a retreat; for it will be too late to find that they are unworthy when your heart is enſnared---and when you find them worthy of your affection, it will be time enough to give a looſe to the ſenſibility of your heart. A virtuous woman is beyond all calculation to be valued, when ſhe is found; but, alas! in finding

her, you may paſs through ſo many fires ordeal, and run ſuch danger, that it is almoſt a doubt, whether a wiſe man (if he can fetter his paſſions) had not better diſpenſe with the bleſſing, than run the hazard of ſearching for it.

On my arrival at Alexandria, I found, to my freſh mortification, that the plague was raging all over Egypt---and as, if this was not of itſelf ſufficient to block up my intended route, an irruption of the Arabs, who in formidable bodies infeſted all the roads, put a period to all my hopes of ſeeing Grand Cairo, and viewing the curioſities of that Country, which all who, like us, have the Bible put early into their hands, are taught to venerate as ſoon as they are taught to read. Here I thought to have viewed the pyramids, whoſe antiquity, origin, or intended uſe, have baffled the learned and ingenious inquiries of ſo many ages---of beholding mount Sinai, the ſtone of Moſes, the track of the Iſraelites, all of which are ſaid to be clearly pointed out, and Geography by that means brought into the ſupport of Sacred Hiſtory. Theſe, and many things, I did wiſh to ſee---they are worth it: but I have had ſince reaſon to believe, that my ill luck was not ſo great as I then thought it; for the ſearch is dangerous, and made prodigiouſly expenſive by the exactions of the Mahomedan Magiſtrates. It is as well, therefore, to travel over this Country in books, which afford us good information, and more of it, at an eaſier rate than you could purchaſe it in the Country.

Alexandria

Alexandria was built by ALEXANDER the Great, ſoon after the overthrow of Tyre, about 333 years before CHRIST, and is ſituated on the Mediterranean, twelve miles Weſt of that mouth of the Nile, anciently called Canopicum. A very extraordinary circumſtance is related, as a proof of the ſuddenneſs of ALEXANDER's reſolution to build it: After he had directed the number of public ſtructures, and fixed the places where they were to ſtand, there were no inſtruments at hand proper for marking out the walls, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times: upon this, a workman adviſed the King to collect what meal was among the ſoldiers, and ſift it in lines upon the ground, in order to mark out the circuit of the walls: the advice was followed, and the King's ſoothſayer interpreted it to be a preſage of the future proſperity and abundance of the city. This prophecy was certainly afterwards verified; for it ſoon became the exporium of Commerce, of Arts and of Sciences.

By the deſcription of STRABO and other Ancients, it appears that this city was built upon a plan well worthy the vaſt mind of its founder; and the fragments of its ornaments afterwards compoſed a part of the grandeſt embelliſhments of Rome and Conſtantinople. In the Muſeum of the Royal Palace, which occupied a fourth part of the city, the body of ALEXANDER was depoſited in a golden coffin---but the deteſtable SELEUCUS CIBYOFACTES violated the monument, took away the golden coffin, and ſubſtituted a glaſs one in its place.

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This city, like moſt others of antiquity, has been the ſcene of terrible maſſacres. About two hundred years after its foundation, it was totally depopulated by PTOLEMY PHYSCON---the very few who eſcaped ſlaughter, flying into other Countries. Deſirous, however, not to reign over empty houſes, he ſeduced inhabitants from the neighbouring Countries; and again, for ſome ſlight offence, determined on a general maſſacre of the young men; and accordingly, when they were one day aſſembled in the Gymnaſium, or place of public exerciſe, he ordered it to be ſet on fire, ſo that all periſhed, either in the flames, or by the ſwords of his mercenaries, whom he had placed at all the avenues. Afterwards, in the year of CHRIST 215, the Emperor CARACALLA, having been lampooned by ſome of the inhabitants, ordered a general maſſacre by his numerous troops, who were diſperſed over the city. The inhuman orders being given, all were murdered, without diſtinction of age or ſex; ſo that, in one night's time, the whole city floated in blood, and every houſe was filled with carcaſes: the monſter himſelf, retiring to the Temple of Serapis, was all the time imploring the protection of the Deity---a proof that practical devotion and the moſt atrocious inhumanity may meet in the ſame boſom. As if this had not been ſufficient vengeance, he ſtripped the city of all its ancient privileges---ordered all ſtrangers who lived there to depart---and, that the few who remained might not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing one another, he cut off all communication of one ſtreet with another, by walls built for the purpoſe, and guarded with troops.

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Notwithſtanding theſe maſſacres, Alexandria again recovered its former ſplendour---and was again ſacked by AMROU, the infamous Saracen---and all the intrepid youth of the city periſhed with arms in their hands. The magnificence of the city may be eſtimated from the account written by AMROU to the Caliph: "I have taken," ſaid he, "the City of the Weſt; it is of an immenſe extent; I cannot deſcribe to you how many wonders it contains: there are 4000 palaces, 4000 baths," &c. &c.

The great advantages of the Eaſt India trade, which was then carried on by the Red Sea, preſerved Alexandria through ſeveral revolutions; but having fallen under the dominion of the Turks, and the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope being diſcovered, a fatal blow was given to its commerce, and it has ſince fallen to decay. It is, however, even now, worth the attention of the claſſical traveller. Entering the harbour, we paſſed by the Iſland of Pharos, where PTOLEMY built the enormous Tower which was once the wonder of the world; and, when riding within the port, nothing could be more gratifying than to ſee from thence that mixture of ancient and modern monuments that preſented themſelves to the view, on which ever ſide the eye could be turned.

Of myriads of antiquities which this place affords for the inſpection of the curious, I ſhall mention only two---One, the Column of POMPEY, on viewing of which, the remembrance of that great and good man's moſt unmerited and cruel fate extracted a ſigh from the bottom of my heart: this pillar engages the attention

tention of all travellers; it is compoſed of red granite; the capital is Corinthian, with palm leaves, and not indented; the ſhaft and the upper member of the baſe are of one piece, ninety feet long, and nine in diameter; the baſe, a ſquare of fifteen feet on each ſide; the whole column is one hundred and fourteen feet high, perfectly well poliſhed, and only a little ſhivered on the Eaſtern ſide. Nothing can equal the majeſty of this monument: ſeen from a diſtance, it overtops the town, and ſerves as a ſignal for veſſels; approaching it nearer, it produces an aſtoniſhment mixed with awe: one would never be tired of admiring the beauty of the capital, the length of the ſhaft, nor the extraordinary ſimplicity of the pedeſtal. Some years ago, a party of Engliſh ſeamen contrived, by flying a kite, to draw a line over the pillar, and by that means made a kind of a ſhroud, by which they got up, and on the very top of of it drank a bowl of punch, to the utter aſtoniſhment of a multitude who came to ſee them; they broke off one of the volutes of the column, but amply compenſated for this miſchief by a diſcovery they made, as, without their evidence, the world would not have known, at this hour, that there was originally a ſtatue on this column, one foot and ancle of which, of enormous ſize, are ſtill remaining.---The other is the Obeliſk of CLEOPATRA, of immenſe ſize, and of one ſingle piece of granite marble. Here I obſerved, too, a thick wall, with towers mouldering under extreme age, which contained, in its face, fragments of architecture of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, ſuch as broken columns, friezes, &c.

&c.; thoſe were the antique ruins of ſome fallen pieces of antiquity, at the time that this antique wall was built: what, then, muſt be the length of time ſince they had firſt undergone the hands of the workman? Theſe circumſtances tend to demonſtrate, that, far back beyond the reach of our calculation, the Arts flouriſhed: and when one thinks of the miraculous maſſes of work done in former ages---the magnitude of the pieces of which thoſe works were compoſed, ſuch as whole columns and obeliſks of a ſingle block of marble---the Coloſſus of Rhodes, made of braſs, one foot of which was placed on one ſide of the harbour, and another on the other ſide, ſo that ſhips paſſed between its legs---we cannot help yielding up the palm to the Ancients for ſtupendous magnificence, however we may ſurpaſs them for the uſeful, the elegant and the good.

At Alexandria I remained about twelve days, till, wearied of the confined ſtate I lived in on account of the plague, I reſolved to deviſe ſome means, if poſſible, to get away, and at length hired a boat to carry me to the iſland of Cyprus, from whence I concluded, that I ſhould find no ſort of difficulty in procuring a conveyance to Latichea, and ſo proceed by my firſt intended route. I accordingly arrived at Cyprus in perfect ſafety, where, to my great ſorrow and aſtoniſhment, I found that an epidemical fever, equal in its effects to a plague, prevailed: however, there was no alternative; I muſt run the riſque, and I diſmiſſed the boat that carried me from Alexandria.

Although the etymologies of the names of places are of very little importance, and moſt frequently uncertain, I think it probable that the Learned are right, who aſſert the name of this is derived from Κυπρος (Cyprus) or Cypreſs---with which ſhrubs the iſland abounds. It had, in ancient times, a number of other names---one of which was Paphia, whence Venus, who was worſhipped in it, was called the Paphian Goddeſs. It lies thirty miles Weſt of Syria, whither I was bound, ſtretching from the South-weſt to the North-eaſt, one hundred and fifty miles in length, and ſeventy in breadth in the wideſt part of it.

This iſland holds a very high rank in claſſic lore---It gave birth to ſome great Philoſophers and conſiderable Poets---The Apoſtle BARNABAS was a native of it, and, aſſiſted by ST. PAUL, firſt introduced Chriſtianity among them. Famaguſta, a town on the Eaſtern part of the iſland, oppoſite to the ſhore of Syria, is the ancient Salamis, built by TEUCER the ſon of TELAMON, and brother of AJAX.

Symiſſo, on the South-eaſt, the beſt port in Cyprus, is the *Amathus* mentioned by VIRGIL in his Æneid, and by OVID in his Metamorphoſes. And Baffo, on the Weſtern coaſt, is the Παφος (Paphos) of antiquity, famous for the Temple of Venus.

As the branches of an Empire moſt remote from the great ſeat of Government are always more deſpotically governed than thoſe nearer the ſource of redreſs, Cyprus has been continually ruled with a rod of iron ſince it came into the hands of the Turks. While

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it was under the dominion of Chriſtians, it was well-peopled, having no leſs than eight hundred or a thouſand villages in it, beſides ſeveral handſome cities; but the Turks have ſpread ruin and deſolation over the country, and it is now ſo thinly inhabited that more than half the lands lie uncultivated.

The air of this iſland is now for the moſt part unwholeſome, owing to the damps ariſing from the many fens and marſhes with which the country abounds---while, there being but few ſprings or rivers in the iſland, the want of a plentiful fall of rain, at proper periods, diſtreſſes the inhabitants very much in another way; and by means of the uncultivated ſtate of the country, they are greatly infeſted with poiſonous reptiles of various kinds.

The moſt remarkable mountain in Cyprus is called Olympus---a name common to ſeveral other mountains in Greece, particularly to that in Theſſaly, ſo famous in the poetry of the Ancients. That in Cyprus is about fifty miles in circumference: great part of it is covered with woods; and at the foot of it are fine vineyards, which produce admirable wine, not only in a ſufficiency for their own conſumption, but ſome alſo for exportation---And although the greater part of the iſland lies uncultivated, as I have before obſerved, it produces a ſufficient quantity of corn, unleſs in ſeaſons when their harveſt fails, in which caſe the people are eaſily ſupplied from the continent. They have, beſides, cattle enough for their own conſumption---Many parts of the country abound with wild-fowl,

and ſeveral ſorts of game, and they have plenty of fiſh upon the ſea coaſts.

The trade of Cyprus is not inconſiderable, and carried on chiefly by Jews and Armenians: the commodities in which they deal are wine, oil, cotton, wool, ſalt, ſilk, and turpentine---beſides, it produces ſeveral ſorts of earth, fit for the uſe of painters, particularly red, black and yellow.

Its moſt wonderful production, however, is the famous ſtone Ασβεστος (Aſbeſtos) inextinguiſhable, or Αμιαντος (Amiantos) impollutus, ſo called from its extraordinary property of reſiſting fire. It is related that the Ancients made out of this ſtone a kind of thread that would remain unconſumed in the moſt intenſe fire. It is even ſaid, that ſome experiments have been made in modern days, which have ſufficiently proved that the thing is not a fiction. In ſuch extraordinary queſtions as this, though I do not poſitively contradict, I always ſuſpend my belief, till ſomething ſtronger than mere aſſertion is offered to convince me.

There is one dreadful miſchief to which this iſland is ſubject---In the hot ſeaſon, locuſts come from the Continent, in ſwarms ſo vaſt and ſo thick as to darken the ſky like clouds. Thoſe would certainly devour all the fruits of the earth, if they were not driven to ſea by a North wind that uſually blows at the time of their coming. When that wind happens to fail, which fortunately is ſeldom, the conſequence is a total demolition of the fruits of the Country.

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The whole iſland, as well as particular towns, was entirely conſecrated to the Goddeſs VENUS, who thence was called VENUS CYPRIA, or DEA CYPRIA, and is repreſented by the Poets as taking a peculiar pleaſure in viſiting it---and this unqueſtionably aroſe from the looſe habits and laſcivious temperament of the women there, who certainly are, at this time, not remarkable for chaſtity.

I muſt confeſs, however, that I felt great pleaſure in entering Cyprus---it was, as I have already ſtated, claſſic ground, and dedicated to the Queen of Love. But a traveller who viſits it with hopes of amuſement, will be much diſappointed; for in no one particular did it ſeem to me to reſemble that Cyprus famed in the Heathen Story and Mythology. Of the Cyprian Queen's favours the ladies ſeemed to boaſt no one mark, ſave the moſt nauſeous, diſguſting lewdneſs---and the natural fertility of the ſoil is half loſt beneath the oppreſſive yoke of the ſervants of the Turkiſh Government. Thus, in the extraordinary revolutions that human affairs are inceſſantly undergoing, that iſland which for its ſuperior beauties was ſuppoſed to be the reſidence of Love, which gave birth to the Philoſophers ZENO, APPOLLONIUS and XENOPHON, is now a miſerable, half-cultivated ſpot, peopled with a mixture of wretched Turks, Jews, Greeks and Chriſtians---groaning under the tyrrany of a barbarous deſpotic abuſe of delegated power---infeſted with locuſts which devour the fruits of the earth---and

diſgraced

diſgraced by a race of ignominious women, who eſteem it to be an act of religion to proſtitute themſelves to all ſtrangers.

Our RICHARD the Firſt made a conqueſt of this iſland on his way to the Holy Land, and conferred the Royalty of it on GUY LUSIGNAN, King of Jeruſalem. The Venetians poſſeſſed themſelves of it in the year 1480---but, in the ſixteenth century, the Turks diſpoſſeſſed them, and have ever ſince kept it under the yoke---I ſhould have remarked that their wine is excellent.

Continuing my route, I hired another boat, after only forty-eight hours ſtay at Cyprus, and proceeded for Latichea, which, as I have ſomewhere before mentioned, is a conſiderable ſea-port town of Syria, built on a promontory of land, which, running into the ſea, occaſions its being continually refreſhed with breezes. Fortune, who had hitherto been not very liberal in her diſpenſations, now favoured me; for, juſt as I arrived at Latichea, a caravan was preparing. The Conſul of the Turkiſh Company at Cyprus received me with great politeneſs and hoſpitality---gave me a Letter to the Reſident at Latichea; and by his inſtruction and aſſiſtance, after a very ſhort ſtay, I ſet out on my way to Aleppo with the caravan.

As I ſhall hereafter have occaſion more particularly to deſcribe the nature of thoſe caravans, I ſhall, for the preſent, tell you, that this was compoſed of no other beaſts of burden than mules and aſſes, of which there were not leſs than three or four hundred in number.

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Mounted on a mule, I travelled along, well pleaſed with the fertile appearance of the country, and delighted with the ſerenity of the air---We were, as well as I can now recollect, near ten days on the road; during which time we travelled only in the morning early, and in the heat of the day repoſed under the ſhade of trees.

I was informed, that if, inſtead of going to Latichea, I had gone to Scanderoon (otherwiſe Alexandretta), I ſhould, in the road from thence to Aleppo, have travelled through a Country, in which the moſt ſingular and extravagant cuſtoms prevail that exiſt in any Country emerged from barbariſm---Several of thoſe I heard; but one in particular was, that the men proſtituted their wives and daughters to all comers---and that this originated from a principle of religion, though there was every reaſon to believe, that, like many of their religious inſtitutions, it was at laſt made ſubſervient to the gratification of avarice.

On my way to Alleppo, I was met by a Mr. ———, an Engliſh Gentleman, who had heard of my coming, and who, in the moſt kind and hoſpitable manner, inſiſted upon my living at his houſe inſtead of the Britiſh Conſul's, where I ſhould otherwiſe have reſided during my ſtay there; and his manner of aſking me was ſo engaging, intereſting and impreſſive, that I found it impoſſible to refuſe him.

As the great public caravan had departed from Aleppo before my arrival, and the expence of forming a private one on my account was too great, as I was travelling on my own account, and had

had no diſpatches to authoriſe or enforce my departure, or bear me out in the expence; I was conſtrained to remain at Aleppo till ſome eligible mode of travelling occurred, or another public caravan was formed---This delay gave me an opportunity of ſeeing and informing myſelf of the city and ſurrounding country; the reſult of which, I ſhall, in as ſhort a manner as poſſible, relate to you in a future Letter. It alſo gave occaſion to one of thoſe unhappy incidents which I have ſo often had occaſion to lament, not from any conſciouſneſs of direct criminality, but for the ſcope it gave to miſrepreſentation, and the injury which that miſrepreſentation did me in the opinion of ſome of my friends.

END OF PART I.

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JOURNEY TO INDIA, &c.

PART II.

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JOURNEY TO INDIA, &c

LETTER XXVII.

MY DEAR FREDERICK,

So long as the route of my journey lay through European regions, little preſented itſelf reſpecting human nature of ſuch very great novelty as to excite admiration or awaken curioſity. In all the various Nations through which we have paſſed, a certain parity of ſentiment, ariſing from the one great ſubſtratum, Chriſtianity, gave the ſame general colouring to all the ſcenes, however they might differ from each other in their various ſhadings. Whatever diſſimilitude the influence of accident, climate, or local circumſtance, may, in the revolutions of ages, have introduced into their manners, cuſtoms, municipal laws, and exterior forms of

worſhip—the great Code of Religion and Moral Sentiment remains nearly the ſame with all: and right and wrong, good and evil, being defined by the ſame principles of reaſon, and aſcertained by the ſame boundaries, bring the rule of conduct of each to ſo cloſe an approximation with that of the others, that, when compared with thoſe we are now to attend to, they may really be conſidered as one and the ſame people.

In the Empire now before us, were we to leave our judgment to the guidance of general opinion of Chriſtian Nations, we ſhould have, on the contrary, to contemplate Man under a variety of forms and modifications, ſo entirely different from thoſe to which habit has familiariſed our minds, as at firſt to impreſs us with the idea of a total diſruption from our nature, and induce us, as it has already the generality of our people, to divorce them from a participation of all thoſe ſympathetic feelings which ſerve to inforce the diſcharge of mutual good offices among men. Deducing all their principles, not only of moral conduct, but municipal government, from a religion radically different from, and eſſentially adverſe to, ours; deluded by that ſyſtem into a variety of opinions which liberality itſelf muſt think abſurd; unaided by that enlightened philoſophy which learning, and learned men, acting under the influence of comparative Freedom, and aſſiſted by the art of Printing, have diffuſed through the maſs of Europeans; and living under a climate the moſt unfavourable to intellectual or bodily exertion, they exhibit a ſpec-

a ſpectacle which the philoſophic and liberal mind muſt view with diſapprobation, regret and pity—the illiberal fierce Chriſtian with unqualified deteſtation and diſguſt: while, on their part, bigoted to their own principles and opinions, they look on us with abhorrence, and indulge as conſcientious a contempt of, and antipathy to Chriſtians, which I apprehend no lapſe of time, without a great change of circumſtance, will be able to eradicate. Should Mahomedaniſm and Chriſtianity ever happen to merge in Deiſm (but not otherwiſe), the inhabitants of Syria and Europe will agree to conſider each other even as fellow-creatures. In Spain and Portugal, Jew, Turk, and indeed Proteſtant, are without diſtinction called hogs. In Turkey, Jews and Chriſtians are indiſcriminately called dogs; each thinking the other completely excluded from the pale of humanity, and well worthy the dagger of any TRUE BELIEVER who would have the *piety* to apply it.

You will allow, my dear FREDERICK, that it muſt have been rather an important contemplation to your Father, to have perhaps two thouſand miles to travel through the immenſe and almoſt trackleſs wilds of a country inhabited by ſuch people, without the conſolation of any others to accompany him in his journey; for, unleſs a public diſpatch was to overtake me, there was little probability of my having a ſingle European partner of my fatigue and perils.

However, as the period was not yet arrived at which I was to go forward, or even determine my mode of travelling, I endeavoured

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to ſoothe my mind as much as I could into content, and to take advantage of my ſtay at Aleppo, to acquire all the knowledge poſſible of the place, that is to ſay, of that city in particular, and of the Turkiſh government and manners in general.

A diſtant view of Aleppo fills the mind with expectations of great ſplendour and magnificence. The moſques, the towers, the large ranges of houſes with flat roofs, riſing above each other, according to the ſloping hills on which they ſtand, the whole variegated with beautiful rows of trees, form altogether a ſcene magnificent, gay, and delightful: but, on entering the town, all thoſe expected beauties vaniſh, and leave nothing in the ſtreets to meet the eye, but a diſmal ſucceſſion of high ſtone walls, gloomy as the receſſes of a convent or ſtate priſon, and unenlivened by windows, embelliſhed, as with us, by the human face divine. The ſtreets themſelves, not wider than ſome of the meaneſt alleys in London, overcaſt by the height of the priſon-houſes on either ſide, are rendered ſtill more formidably gloomy by the ſolitude and ſilence that pervade them; while here and there a lattice towards the top, barely viſible, ſtrikes the ſoul with the gloomy idea of thraldom, coercion and impriſonment.

This deteſtable mode of building, which owes its origin to jealouſy, and the ſcandalous reſtraints every man is empowered by the laws and religion of the place to impoſe upon the women conſigned either by ſale or birth to his tyranny, extends not to the

inſide of the houſes, many of which are magnificent and handſome, and all admirably ſuited to the exigencies of the climate, and the domeſtic cuſtoms and manner of living of the inhabitants.

The city is adorned, it is true, here and there, with moſques and appendant towers, called Minarets, from which cryers call the Faithful to prayers; and in ſome of the ſtreets there are arches built at certain diſtances from each other, ſo as to carry the eye directly through them, and form a viſta of conſiderable grandeur: but all theſe are far from ſufficient to counterbalance the general aſpect of gloomineſs and ſolitude which reigns over the whole, and renders it ſo peculiarly diſguſting, particularly at firſt ſight, to an Engliſhman who has enjoyed the gaiety and contemplated the freedom of a city in Great Britain.

The moſques (Mahomedan temples) are extremely numerous in this city; indeed almoſt as much ſo as churches and convents in the popiſh countries of Chriſtendom. There is nothing in their external appearance to attract the notice of the traveller, or indulge the eye of the architect; they are almoſt all of one form—an oblong quadrangle: and as to the inſide, I never had an opportunity of ſeeing one; none but Muſſulmen being permitted to enter them, at leaſt at Aleppo.

The next buildings of a public kind to the moſques that deſerve to be particularly mentioned, are the caravanſeras—buildings which, whether we conſider the ſpirit of beneficence and charity that firſt

ſuggeſted

ſuggeſted them, their national importance, or their extenſive utility, may rank, though not in ſplendour of appearance, at leaſt in true value, with any to be found in the world.

Caravanſeras were originally intended for, and are now pretty generally applied to, the accommodation of ſtrangers and travellers, though, like every other good inſtitution, ſometimes perverted to the purpoſes of private emolument or public job: they are built at proper diſtances through the roads of the Turkiſh dominions, and afford the indigent or weary traveller an aſylum from the inclemency of the weather; are in general very large, and built of the moſt ſolid and durable materials; have commonly one ſtory above the ground floor, the lower of which is arched, and ſerves for warehouſes to ſtow goods, for lodgings and for ſtables, while the upper is uſed merely for lodgings; beſides which, they are always accommodated with a fountain, and have cooks ſhops and other conveniencies to ſupply the wants of the lodgers. In Aleppo the Caravanſeras are almoſt excluſively occupied by merchants, to whom they are, like other houſes, rented.

The ſuburbs of Aleppo, and the ſurrounding country, are very handſome, pleaſant, and, to a perſon coming out of the gloomy city, in ſome reſpects intereſting. Some toſſed about into hill and valley lie under the hands of the huſbandman; others are covered with handſome villas; and others again laid out in gardens, whither the people of Aleppo occaſionally reſort for amuſement.

The roofs of all the houſes are flat, and formed of a compoſition which reſiſts the weather effectually. On thoſe moſt of the people ſleep in the very hot weather: they are ſeparated from each other by walls; but the Franks, who live contiguous to one another, and who, from their diſagreeable circumſtances with regard to the Turks, are under the neceſſity of keeping up a friendly and harmonious intercourſe together, have doors of communication, which are attended with theſe fortunate and pleaſing advantages, that they can make a large circuit without deſcending into the ſtreets, and can viſit each other during the plague, without running the riſk of catching the infection by going among the natives below.

There is a caſtle in the city which I had nearly forgotten to mention—The natives conceive it to be a place of great ſtrength. It could not, however, withſtand the ſhock of a few pieces of ordnance for a day. It is eſteemed a favour to be permitted to ſee it; and there is nothing to recompenſe one for the trouble of obtaining permiſſion, unleſs it be the proſpect of the ſurrounding country, which from the battlements is extenſive and beautiful.

Near this caſtle ſtands the Seraglio, a large old building, where the Baſhaw of Aleppo reſides: the whole of it ſeemed to me to be kept in very bad repair, conſidering the importance of the place. It is ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall of great height: beſides which, its contiguity to the caſtle is very convenient; as, in caſe of popular tumults, or inteſtine commotions, the Baſhaw finds an aſylum in the

latter, which commands and overawes the city, and is never without a numerous garriſon under the command of an Aga.

Such is the ſummary account I have been able to collect of Aleppo, the capital of Syria; which, mean though it is when compared with the capitals of European countries, is certainly the third city for ſplendour, magnificence, and importance, in the vaſt extent of the Ottoman Empire—Conſtantinople and Grand Cairo only excelling it in thoſe points, and no other bearing any ſort of competition with it.

LETTER XXVIII.

HOWEVER faction may agitate, or abuſe irritate the minds of men againſt the executive branch of their Government, the People of every Nation under Heaven are diſpoſed to think their own Conſtitutional Syſtem the beſt; and the artful intertexture of religion with Governments confirms them in that opinion, and often conſigns the underſtanding to unalterable error and illiberal prejudice. It would be wonderful, then, if the Turkiſh Conſtitution, founded on the Koran, was not looked upon with abhorrence

by the bulk of the Chriſtian world; and more wonderful ſtill, if the outrageous zealots of the Chriſtian Church, who for ſo many centuries engroſſed all the learning of Europe to themſelves, ſhould not have handed down with exaggerated miſrepreſentation every circumſtance belonging to the great enemies of their faith. But that, at this day of intellectual illumination, Mankind ſhould be enveloped in ſuch error and darkneſs, with regard to the government of ſo large a portion of the globe as Turkey, is extraordinary; and only to be accounted for by a reference, in the firſt place, to thoſe religious prejudices which we ſuck in from our nurſe, and which habit, inceſſant document, and every part of our education, tend to confirm in our minds; and in the next, to that indiſpoſition the human mind feels to part with its old prejudices, and the general indolence and incapacity of men to acquire knowledge by the arduous and fatiguing paths of ſtudy.

The Turkiſh Government is groſsly miſrepreſented. Were our opinions to be directed by the general belief of Europeans, we ſhould ſuppoſe that the life and property of every being in that vaſt Empire were irremediably at the mercy of the Grand Seignior —and that, without laws to protect, or any intermediate power whatever to ſhield them, they were entirely ſubject to the capricious will of an inexorable tyrant, who, ſtimulated by cruelty, ſharpened by avarice, and unreſtrained by any law human or divine, did every thing to oppreſs his ſubjects, and carry deſtruction among

Mankind. I firmly believe, that, from the combination of ideas ariſing from thoſe prejudices, there are few Chriſtians who think or hear of the Grand Turk, that do not, by an involuntary act of the mind, inſtantly think of blood and murder, ſtrangling with bow-ſtrings, and ſlicing off heads with cimeters.

As there is no part of your education more near my heart than the eradicating illiberal prejudices from your mind, and fortifying you againſt their aſſaults; I find it impoſſible to refrain from giving you my opinion of the Turkiſh Government, which I have been at ſome pains to collect, as well from oral information as from the beſt authors; and which, though very far from what a generous and univerſally philanthropic diſpoſition would wiſh them to have, is very different from that which is generally attributed to them, and unqueſtionably far more limited in its powers than the Governments of ſeveral Chriſtian countries I could mention.

The Conſtitution of that country is laid down expreſsly in the Koran. The Emperor of Turkey (commonly called the Grand Seignior) is a deſcendant of Mahomet, who pretended he had the Koran from Heaven: and he is as much bound by the inſtitutes of that book as any ſubject in his realm—is liable to depoſition as they to puniſhment for breach of them, and indeed has been more than once depoſed, and the next in ſucceſſion raiſed to the Throne. Thus far, it is obvious, his power is limited and under controul. But that is not all—It is equally certain that the Turkiſh Government is

partly

partly Republican; for, though the People at large have no ſhare in the legiſlation, and are excluded by the Koran from it (which Koran has eſtabliſhed and preciſely aſcertained their rights, privileges, and perſonal ſecurity), yet there is an intermediate power which, when rouſed to exertion, is ſtronger than the Emperor's, and ſtands as a bulwark between the extremes of Deſpotiſm and them. This body is THE ULAMA, compoſed of all the members of the Church and the Law, ſuperior to any Nobility, jealous of their rights and privileges, and partly taken from the People, not by election, but by profeſſion and talents.—In this body are compriſed the Moulahs, the hereditary and perpetual guardians of the religion and laws of the Empire: they derive their authority as much as the Emperor from the Koran, and, when neceſſary, act with all the firmneſs reſulting from a conviction of that authority; which they often demonſtrate by oppoſing his meaſures, not only with impunity, but ſucceſs. Their perſons are ſacred; and they can, by means of the unbounded reſpect in which they are held, rouſe the People to arms, and proceed to depoſe. But, what is much more, the Emperor cannot be depoſed without their concurrence.

If, by this proviſion of the Conſtitution, the power of the Monarch is limited, and the perſonal ſecurity of the ſubject aſcertained, on the one hand; the energy of the Empire in its external operations is, on the other, very frequently and fatally palſied by it. Declarations of war have been procraſtinated, till an injurious and irrecoverable

irrecoverable act of hoſtility has been ſuſtained; and peace often protracted, when peace would have been advantageous. The Ulama being a numerous body, it has been found always difficult, often impoſſible, to unite ſo many different opinions; and nothing being to be done without their concurrence, the executive power finds it often impoſſible to take a deciſive ſtep in a criſis of advantageous opportunity. But as this code of laws and government is received as a divine revelation, binding both Prince and People, and ſuppoſed to be ſealed in Heaven, the breach of it would be ſufficient to conſign even the Monarch to depoſition and death.

As to the military force, which in the hands of all Deſpots has been made the inſtrument of the People's ſlavery, that of the Turk could avail him nothing; and, whenever it does interfere, acts only to his overthrow. The very reverence they have for his perſon ariſing from obedience to their religion, they are, *à fortiori*, governed by it, not him. He holds no communication with them; and the ſtanding force of the Janiſſaries is, compared with the maſs of the People, only a handful. Some wild accounts, indeed, have ſtated it at 300,000; but the beſt informed fix it below 60,000, of which a great part conſiſts of falſe muſters and abuſes—great multitudes being enrolled to obtain certain privileges annexed to the office of Janiſſary. The fact is, that the chief force of the Empire is a militia compoſed of the People; who, with reſpect to obedience and ſubordination, are ſo looſe that they leave their duty whenever they

they pleaſe, without receiving any puniſhment. How far the People of Turkey are protected from the encroachments of power, will appear from the recital of a fact related by one of the beſt and moſt liberal of our Hiſtorians on that ſubject, and which is of too great notoriety to be doubted.

In the year 1755, the Porte, as it is called, or Palace of the Grand Vizir at Conſtantinople, was burnt down: in laying the plan for rebuilding it on the former ſite, the leading conſideration was, how to contrive matters ſo as to render it ſecure from accidents of a like nature in future; and it was determined that the only certain means to do ſo was, to leave a ſpace of clear ground all round it, for which purpoſe the contiguous houſes ſhould be purchaſed from the proprietors, and demoliſhed. All the owners of the houſes agreed to the ſale, except one old woman, who pertinaciouſly refuſed: ſhe ſaid ſhe was born, and had lived all her life, in that ſpot, and would not quit it for any one. Now, in England, for the convenience of a private canal, the Parliament would force her to ſell. But what did they ſay in Turkey? When all the people cried out, "Why does not the Sultan uſe his authority, and take the houſe, "and pay her the value?" No! anſwered the Magiſtrates and the Ulama, it is impoſſible! it cannot be done! it is her property. While the power of the Monarch is thus limited, and the rights of the People thus aſcertained by the Koran, and in things manifeſt and open to view rigidly adhered to, juſtice between man and man

is

is rarely adminiſtered; for, though the laws themſelves are good, the corrupt adminiſtration of them diſarms their effect, and diſtorts them from their purpoſe. The venality of the Judges is beyond conception flagitious and barefaced; and their connivances at falſe witneſſes ſo ſcandalouſly habitual, that teſtimony is become an article of commerce, and can be procured with a facility and at a price that at once ſtamps an opprobrium on the country, and furniſhes matter of wonder to the conſiderate mind, how, if Judges are flagitious and ſhameleſs enough to be guilty of it, the People can bear ſuch a pernicious ſyſtem ſo long. Hence flow all the cenſures on the laws and government of that country—hence moſt of the impediments under which its commerce and agriculture languiſh; while the actual written laws of the realm are, if duly adminiſtered, ſufficiently adequate to the ſecurity of property, the regulation of commerce, the repreſſion of vice, and the puniſhment and prevention of crimes.

In endeavouring to guard your mind againſt an illiberal, vulgar prejudice, I have ſtated to you what the Turkiſh Conſtitution is, and what the Laws; but you muſt not carry what I have ſaid to an overſtrained or forced interpretation. I would not have you infer that the People are well governed; I only ſay, that their Conſtitution contains within it the means of better government than is ſuppoſed. I would not have you infer that property is always ſecure; I barely ſay there are laws written to ſecure it. This too I wiſh to

impreſs

impreſs on you, that the common people are more free, and that property and life are better ſecured, in Turkey, than in ſome European countries. I will mention Spain for one. Like the country we are now contemplating, fear keeps them, as diſunited individuals, under paſſive obedience in ordinary caſes; but, unlike the Spaniards, when notoriouſly aggrieved—when their property or religious code is forcibly violated—when the Prince would riot in blood, and perſiſt in an unſucceſsful war—the Turks appeal to the Law; they find a Chief; the ſoldiery join their ſtandard, and depoſe or deſtroy him, not on the furious pretext of popular hatred, but upon the legitimate ground of the Koran, as an infidel, and a violator of the laws of GOD and Mahomet—They always, however, place his regular ſucceſſor on the Throne. Yet, notwithſtanding the general venality which pollutes the fountains of Juſtice, and notwithſtanding the great abuſe of power to which I have alluded, their internal policy is, in many reſpects, excellent, and may be compared with advantage to that of any Nation in Europe. Highway-robbery, houſe-breaking, or pilfering, are little known and rarely practiſed among them; and at all times the roads are as ſecure as the houſes. Ample proviſions too are made againſt thoſe petty ſecret frauds, which many who carry a fair face in England, and would bring an action of damages againſt one that ſhould call them rogues, practiſe every day. Bakers are the moſt frequent victims of juſtice, and are not infrequently ſeen hanging at their own doors. They are

mulcted and baſtinadoed for the firſt and ſecond offence, and on the third, a ſtaple is driven up in their door-caſe, and they are hanged from it. Notwithſtanding which, men are conſtantly found hardy enough to purſue the ſame courſe of practice; and this is the more extraordinary, as the police is ſo ſtrictly attended to, that the Baſhaw or Vizir himſelf goes about in diſguiſe, in order to diſcover frauds and detect the connivances of the inferior officers of juſtice. But what will our great Ladies, who conſume their nights, deſtroy their conſtitution, and ſquander their huſbands' property in gambling; who afterwards, to repair their ſhattered finances, have recourſe to the infamous expedient of keeping gaming-houſes, and endeavour to recover by degrading means what they have loſt by folly, to the diſgrace of themſelves and family, and the ſhame of their ſex and rank—What will they ſay when I tell them, that gaming is held among the Turks to be as infamous as theft, and a gameſter looked upon with more deteſtation than a highway robber? The Turkiſh Ambaſſador and his train will, on their return to their country, have to tell a curious tale of this much-famed iſland, in that and other reſpects.

LETTER

LETTER XXIX.

PREJUDICE, that canker of the human heart, has injured mankind by impeding perſonal intercourſe, and thereby clogging the channel of intellectual improvement: it forbids that interchange of ſentiment—that reciprocal communication of opinion—that generous circulation of intellectual wealth, which, while it enriches another, advances itſelf—it diſſevers the bond of ſocial union, and makes Man ſit down the gloomy, ſelfiſh poſſeſſor of his own miſerable mite, with too much hatred to give, and too much pride to receive, thoſe benefits, which Providence, by leaving our nature ſo unaccommodated, has pointed out as neceſſary to paſs between man and man: under its influence we ſpurn from us the good, if we diſlike the hand that offers it, and will rather plunge into the mire than be guided by the light of any one whoſe opinion is at variance with our own.

Thus it is between the Turks and us—the little of their affairs which the prejudices of the Mahomedans have allowed themſelves to communicate, or ſuffered others to glean among them, has been in

geneeral ſo miſuſed, diſtorted, and miſrepreſented by the prejudices of the Chriſtians, that it is not going beyond the truth to ſay, there exiſt not a people in the civilized world whoſe real hiſtory and genuine ſtate are ſo little known as thoſe of the Turks: and the worſt of it is, that not one miſrepreſentation, not one ſingle miſtake has fallen on the generous, charitable ſide; but all, all without exception tend to repreſent the Turk in the moſt degraded and deteſtable point of view. As the purity of the Chriſtian does not allow him to be guilty of a wilful, uncharitable miſrepreſentation, we ſhould attribute it to unavoidable error, were it not that, till ſome late authors whoſe liberality does them honour, they all walked in the very ſame track, and could hardly have been ſo uniformly erroneous from deſign. We muſt therefore attribute it to religious zeal and miſtaken piety; in which, in this inſtance alone, they ſeem to be reputable competitors with the Turks. The moroſeneſs, the animoſity, and the ſupercilious ſelf-poſſeſſion of the bigot, each holds in common with the other.

One ſtriking feature in the Conſtitution of Turkey is, that neither blood nor ſplendid birth are of themſelves ſufficient to recommend a man to great offices. Merit and abilities alone are the pinions which can lift ambition to its height. The cottager may be exalted to the higheſt office in the Empire; at leaſt there is no abſolute impediment in his way; and I believe it has often happened. Compare this with France under its late Monarchy, where no merit could

could raiſe a man from the Canaille: this, I ſay, is one of the criterions of a free Conſtitution, and Turkey is ſo far democratic.

The very firſt principle ingrafted in the minds of the Mahomedan children, is a high contempt of all religions but their own; and from the minute babes are capable of diſtinguiſhing, they are taught to call Chriſtians by the name of Ghiaour, or Infidel: this grows up in their manhood ſo ſtrong in them, that they will follow a Chriſtian through the ſtreets, and even juſtle againſt him with contempt, crying, Ghiaour! Ghiaour! or Infidel! Infidel!—Men of dignity and rank, indeed, will treat Chriſtians with courteſy; but as ſoon as they are gone out of hearing, will call them Dog! This is monſtrous! But let us recollect how a Turk would be treated in Spain or Portugal, and we ſhall ſee that inhuman bigotry may be found in a greater degree among Chriſtians than even Mahomedans. In Spain or Portugal they would treat them thus:—the common people would call them Hogs; they would juſtle them alſo in contempt; and what is more, they would ſtab them (it has often happened) *por amor de Dios*; and as to the people of rank, they would very conſcientiouſly conſign them to the Inquiſition, where the pious Fathers of the Church would very piouſly conſign them to the flames, and coolly go to the Altar, and pray to GOD to damn them hereafter to all eternity. So far the balance, I think, is in favour of the Turks. Need I go farther?—I will.—

The Mahomedans are divided into two Sects, as the Chriſtians are

are into many. Thoſe are the Sect of Ali, and the Sect of Omar. Now, I have never heard among them of one Sect burning the other deliberately: but the Roman Catholics, even now, burn Proteſtants by juridical ſentence—burn their fellow Chriſtians to death for differing from them in a mere ſpeculative point of doctrine. Which then are the better men? I am ſure it is unneceſſary to ſay: though bad are the beſt.

The Turks are allowed, by thoſe who know them beſt, to have ſome excellent qualities; and I think, that in the prodigality of our cenſure, which, though little acquainted with them, we are forward to beſtow, it would be but fair to give them credit for many of thoſe good qualities, which even among ourſelves it requires the greateſt intimacy and the warmeſt mutual confidence and eſteem to diſcloſe or diſcover in each other. That they have many vices is certain. What people are they that have not? Gaming they deteſt; wine they uſe not, or at leaſt uſe only a little, and that by ſtealth; and as to the plurality of women, it can in them be ſcarcely deemed a vice, ſince their religion allows it. One vice, and one only, of a dark dye is laid to their charge; and that has been trumpeted forth with the grievous and horrid addition, that though contradictory to nature, it was allowed by their religion. This I have reaſon to believe is one of the many fabrications and artifices of Chriſtian zealots, to render Mahomedaniſm more odious: for I have been informed from the moſt competent and reſpectable authority, and am

therefore

therefore perſuaded, that the deteſtable crime to which I allude, is forbidden both by the Koran and their Municipal Laws; that it is openly condemned by all, as with us; and that, though candour muſt allow there are many who practiſe it (by the bye there are too many in England who are ſuppoſed to do the ſame), there are none hardy or ſhameleſs enough not to endeavour to conceal it; and, in ſhort, that it is apparently as much reprobated there as any where; which, at all events, reſcues the Laws and Religion of the Country from that ſtigma.

Perhaps there is no part of the world where the flame of parental affection burns with more ardent and unextinguiſhable ſtrength, or is more faithfully returned by reciprocal tenderneſs and filial obedience, than Turkey. Educated in the moſt unaffected deference and pious ſubmiſſion to their parents' will; trained both by precept and example to the greateſt veneration for the aged, and ſeparated almoſt from their infancy from the women, they acquire a modeſty to their ſuperiors, and a baſhfulneſs and reſpectful deportment to the weaker ſex, which never ceaſe to influence them through life. A Turk meeting a woman in the ſtreet, turns his head from her, as if looking at her were criminal; and there is nothing they deteſt ſo much, or will more ſedulouſly ſhun, than an impudent, audacious woman. To get the better of a Turk therefore, there is nothing further neceſſary, than to let ſlip a Virago at him, and he inſtantly retreats.

Since

Since the arrival of the Turkiſh Ambaſſador in London, I have had frequent occaſion to obſerve, that the people of his train have been already, by the good example of our Britiſh Belles and Beaux, pretty much eaſed of their national modeſty, and can look at the women with as broad and intrepid a ſtare, as the greateſt puppy in the Metropolis.

Their habitual tenderneſs and deference for the fair ſex, while it ſpeaks much for their manly gallantry, muſt be allowed by candour to be carried to an exceſs extravagant and irrational. It is the greateſt diſgrace to the character of a Turk to lift his hand to a woman: this is, doubtleſs, right, with ſome limitations; but they carry it ſo far as to allow no provocation, be it what it may, ſufficient to juſtify uſing force or ſtrokes to a woman; the utmoſt they can do is, to ſcold and walk off. The conſequence of this is, that the women often run into the moſt violent exceſſes. There have been inſtances where they have been guilty of the moſt furious outrages; where they have violated the laws in a collected body, and broke open public ſtores of corn laid up by the Government: the Magiſtrates attended, the Janiſſaries were called, and came running to quell the riot—but, behold they were women who committed it: they knew no way of reſiſting them, unleſs by force; and force they could not uſe: ſo the ladies were permitted quietly to do their work in defiance of Magiſtrates, Law, Right, and Reaſon.

Among the variety of errors and moral abſurdities falſely

aſcribed to the Mahomedan Religion, the excluſion of Women from Paradiſe holds a very conſpicuous place, as a charge equally falſe and abſurd; on the contrary, the Women have their faſts, their ablutions, and the other religious rites deemed by Mahomedans neceſſary to ſalvation. Notwithſtanding, it has been the practice of travellers to have recourſe to invention, where the cuſtoms of the country precluded poſitive information; and to give their accounts rather from the ſuggeſtions of their own prejudiced imaginations, than from any fair inferences or concluſions drawn from the facts that came under their obſervation.

LETTER XXX.

THE ſubject I touched upon in my laſt three letters, and on which this, and probably ſome ſucceeding ones, will turn, is attended with circumſtances of great delicacy, and may poſſibly bear the aſpect of at leaſt a dubious import, as touching the great point of Religion. I will therefore, before I proceed further, explain to you (leſt it ſhould require explanation) the whole ſcope of my meaning.

My object throughout the whole of what I have ſaid reſpecting the Turks, is to war with prejudice, not to draw compariſons:—to ſhew that where the Mahomedans are vicious or enſlaved, it is not the fault of their Religion or their Laws:—to convince you, the Turks are not the only people in the world, who, under all the external forms of ſanctity and religion, are capable of the moſt deteſtable crimes, and ſometimes utterly bereft of all pretenſions to charity—and that, while they have been held up as a perpetual ſubject of reproach and accuſation, they were committing only juſt the ſame crimes that conſcience might have retorted on their accuſers. If allowance can be at all made for hiſtorical miſrepreſentation, we may perhaps be diſpoſed to conſider that of the ignorant Catholic Miſſionaries of the early ages, as entitled to ſome excuſe, or at leaſt mitigation. The intemperate zeal of thoſe times forbade the full exerciſe of the rational faculties; but in this age of illumination and liberality, he that falſifies from polemical malice ſhould meet little quarter and leſs belief. And it muſt be grievous to all men of virtue and religion to reflect, that churchmen, diſciples of the Chriſtian Church, which ſhould be the fountain of purity and truth, have been foremoſt in the liſt of falſifiers.

The difficulty of obtaining information of any kind in Turkey, is very great; of their Religion chiefly they are extremely tenacious; and as to their Women, it is allowed by the beſt-informed men, who have lived there for many years, in departments of life

that

that gave them the beſt means of obtaining information Europeans can have, that, at beſt, but a very imperfect knowledge can be had of them. Yet travellers who probably never migrated farther than "from the green bed to the brown," have given us diffuſe accounts of their religion; and adventurers who never were beyond the purlieus of Drury, have ſcaled Seraglio walls, and carried off the favourites of Sultans.

The truth is, my dear FREDERICK, the Turks, like all other people, have their ſhare of vices, but are by no means countenanced in them by their Religion; and from what I have been able to collect, as well from my own inquiries and obſervations, as from reading the beſt Hiſtorians, I am perſuaded that they have not, in the whole ſcope of Mahomedaniſm, one doctrine ſo ſubverſive of virtue, or ſo encouraging to the indulgence of vice, as many that are to be found in that curious code, Popery.

The malice of our intemperate zealots againſt Mahomedaniſm has been of courſe extended to its founder with more than common exaggeration and additions. They have repreſented Mahomet to be a man of mean origin, poſſeſſing a mind unenlightened by Science or Literature, and an underſtanding and faculties naturally groſs. All thoſe ſuggeſtions are undoubtedly falſe;—he ſprung from the moſt noble of all the Arabian Tribes—the Coraiſhites: at his time, poverty, ſo far from being a reproach among them, was a mark of every thing that was great and dignified, if ſupported with magna-

nimity and fortitude; and the two firſt Caliphs lived as poor as Mahomet himſelf, although they had immenſe revenues, commanded vaſt armies, and were lords of great provinces. As to his underſtanding I can only ſay, that perhaps he was the very laſt man in the world whoſe intellectual powers ſhould be called in queſtion. His genius was unbounded, his ſpirit enterpriſing, his powers of addreſs were unequalled, he was allowed to be the greateſt orator of his time; and yet, with all theſe qualifications, his underſtanding was ſlighted. It is a logical truth, that when people prove too much, they prove nothing at all: our Chriſtian zealots, in this inſtance, have overſhot the mark, and thereby rendered all their other information at leaſt doubtful. Perhaps the conſummation of all policy was Mahomet's pretending to be an idiot, in order to make his great and wonderful effuſions appear to be the immediate inſpiration of Heaven—He called himſelf THE IDIOT PROPHET *.

The whole of Mahomedaniſm may be reduced ſimply to this one article of Faith—"There is but one GOD, and MAHOMET is his "Prophet;" but upon this they have ſuperinduced, from time to time, ſuch a variety of abſurdities as would require volumes to deſcribe: however, in ſtrict candour let us reflect, and aſk our own hearts the queſtion, whether ſprinkling with holy water, or worſhiping a bit of white wafer as GOD, can be exceeded, or are leſs abſurd

* Mohammed.

than

than the periodical ablutions of the Turks, or their going on a pilgrimage to Mecca?

With regard to the Women, I have ſaid before that the beſt information we can obtain is very imperfect; all I have been able to collect, you ſhall have. They are formed in a ſtyle of the moſt exquiſite ſymmetry, particularly about the cheſt and boſom; they have delicate ſkins, regular features, black hair and eyes, and are, above all other beings, cleanly and neat in their perſons, bathing twice a day regularly, beſides on other occaſions, and not ſuffering even the ſmalleſt hair to remain upon their bodies. They are kept in the moſt rigorous confinement, and only perſons of ill fame paint. Women of character are there chaſte—nor is their chaſtity to be attributed to reſtraint merely, for, from their infancy they are trained to diſcretion and ſelf-ſubjection, and the modeſty natural to the ſex is cheriſhed from its firſt dawnings. When they grow up, they are not, like our women here, ſubjected to the contagion of infamous gallantry; neither are the men trained to, nor do they pride themſelves, like ſome among us, on the arts of ſeduction. In fact, that practice makes no part of the accompliſhments of their fine gentlemen; nay, it is held by them to be infamous. There are no ſuch characters to be found in Turkey as your box-lobby loungers—none of your upſtart cubs like thoſe who daudle the beſt part of the day through Pall-Mall, St. James's-ſtreet, and Bond-ſtreet; who, without birth, wealth, education, or parts, fancy themſelves fine fellows,

and

and powder their noſes in Ladies' head-dreſſes, whiſpering them in order to get the reputation of gallantry; who ſtrut like Bantam cocks, and aſſume a fierce air to conceal their conſcious want of ſpirit; and dreſſed in a ſuit of regimentals, bought by Papa, at Mama's requeſt, to exhibit ſweet Maſter Jacky to advantage in the Park—though never to be ſoiled with gunpowder, or perforated with a ball in the naſty field of battle!!!—My dear FREDERICK, I have often told you that you ſhall make choice of your own profeſſion. If you ſhould chooſe any of the learned profeſſions, you may fail in it without diſhonour; for many of the ableſt men have failed before: but, mark me! avoid the military as you would ruin, unleſs you have the requiſites; let not the glitter of a ſcarlet coat, or the empty name of a ſoldier, tempt you to be like one of thoſe miſerable animals I have deſcribed. There may be characters more wicked—I know none ſo utterly contemptible.

All extremes are bad; but the exceedings of virtue, even where they run into error, are ſtill preferable to vice. However ludicrous it may appear, we cannot abſolutely deſpiſe or condemn the prudery of the Turkiſh women, though it runs into ſuch extravagance, that, when feeding their poultry, they keep carefully veiled if there happens to be a cock among them, ſo faſtidiouſly averſe are they to the odious male creature ſeeing their pretty faces.

When the circumſtances under which the Turkiſh women ſtand are conſidered, it muſt appear amazing, that chaſtity, from principle,

ciple, is univerſal among them, as it is confeſſed to be: the nature of man urges him to deſire, with greateſt ardour, that which is moſt forbidden; and women who are much confined, may well be ſuppoſed to have their paſſions inflamed by the exaggerated workings of the imagination. Infidelity, however, to the marriage-bed, is much leſs frequent among the men there, than among the women here; and the tide of faſhion, which in this country gives ſuch a rapid and irreſiſtible circulation to vice and adultery, runs there in an oppoſite direction; and contrary to our cuſtoms, no man is ſo unfaſhionable in Turkey as he that has interrupted the domeſtic peace of a family by ſeduction.

Among the many virtues which may with ſtrict juſtice be aſcribed to the Turks, hoſpitality holds a conſpicuous place. It is not confined to common civility, it extends to perſonal protection. Many deem it abſolutely their duty to riſk their lives in defence of their gueſts; nor will any motive, however cogent, be allowed to juſtify the violation of it. Nay, to ſuch a ſyſtem is it carried up, that an engagement with a ſtranger is accepted as an excuſe for not obeying the ſummons of a great man, when no other apology, not even that of indiſpoſition, would be admitted.

While the Turks abhor and deſpiſe all other religions but their own, their Government is by no means intolerant in ſpiritual concerns. The exerciſe of all religions is free, and at Conſtantinople (we are told) Monks dreſs in their habits, and are allowed at funeral

proceſſions to elevate the Croſs, which is more than the Engliſh tyranny allowed the Roman Catholics of Ireland to do, till very lately: a Turk, however, convicted of apoſtacy, could not by any means eſcape death. Meantime it muſt be obſerved, that if they keep up a decent ſemblance of the forms of their religion, no intruſive inquiry is made into their real faith: and though it is one of the injunctions of Mahomet to endeavour to convert Unbelievers, and they ſometimes in obedience to that command ſolicit the converſion of Chriſtians and others; they never fail to conſider any renegado, or perſon who becomes a convert, with contempt, if not diſlike.

I will conclude this letter with an extract from that moſt valuable and accurate work, Ruſſel's Hiſtory of Aleppo, which will give you a better, becauſe a true, notion of Turkiſh morals, than you are likely to receive from general opinion. "Upon the whole," ſays he, "whether it be aſcribed to the influence of their political "Conſtitution, or to the abſence of various temptations, which in "Europe often lead to the violation of better laws; there are per-"haps few great cities where many of the private and domeſtic vir-"tues are in general more prevalent than at Aleppo."

LETTER

LETTER XXXI.

THE uſe of periodical ſtated times of devotion is univerſally admitted, and the neceſſity of adopting them makes a part of the Chriſtian Code. The Mahomedan Religion, however, exceeds it far in the rigid attention to, and frequency of, devotion. There are no leſs than five ſtated times of prayer in every twenty-four hours, fixed as indiſpenſable, at none of which a true Believer fails; and the fervency of their praying exceeds even the frequency. I have heard it aſſerted, that if the houſe was to take fire while they are at their devotion, they would not break off; and ſo rigidly intent do they conceive it their duty to be during the time of prayer, that if in the midſt of it they were interrupted by a fit of ſneezing or coughing, they conſider all already done as gone for nothing, and always begin them again.—And to tell a truth of them, if the Chriſtians curſe them, they are pretty even with them in return, never failing to pray for diſcord, enmity, and diſſenſion among their enemies, as well as health and proſperity to themſelves; and to the efficacy of thoſe prayers they fondly attribute all

the wars and diſſenſions which inceſſantly haraſs Chriſtendom. A bell tolls as a public notice of prayer; and when a true Mahomedan hears it, let him be where he will, whether at home or abroad, in the highway or in the market, be the place dirty or clean, wet or dry, he immediately falls down and worſhips.

As ſubſidiary to prayer they have their ablutions, in which they are full as ſcrupulouſly punctual as in their prayers. One is preparatory to prayer, another after cohabitation with women, a third before eating, and another again incidental. Thoſe they never neglect to perform, unleſs ſome inſuperable obſtacle lies in the way. Charity, that moſt glorious doctrine of any Religion, is enjoined by the Koran under the moſt heavy denunciation of heavenly vengeance, in caſe of neglect; and by it they are charged to regard no bounds in liberality to the poor. Many Muſſulmen in their zeal to diſcharge this duty have given a fourth, many a third, and ſome one half of their property. Nay, the inſtances are not infrequent of men giving away their all, and living afterwards themſelves upon alms. To do ſtrict juſtice it muſt be ſaid, that poverty is no where ſo reſpectfully attended to, honoured, or reverenced, as among the Mahomedans; who have a ſaying among them, "that the fear of want is a mark of the judgment of "GOD."

Abſtinence is conſidered as a virtue among them, and very ſtrictly enjoined as a religious duty. The great Faſt appointed by the Koran continues for the month of Ramedan, during which time they neither

eat, drink, nor converſe with their wives, from ſun-riſe till the ſtars appear, or the lamps are hung out at the Moſques. Any man who breaks it is puniſhed with death; but the worſt of it is, that they will not allow even travellers, the ſick or the wounded, to plead a right to exemption: ſome of the Turks, however, and all the Chriſtians, have hit upon expedients to paſs the month without much mortification; that is, ſleeping in bed all day, and ſitting up and carouſing all night, to evade the reſtraint.

The laſt and greateſt ordinance of their religion is the pilgrimage to Mecca, which when once accompliſhed is ſuppoſed to be a direct paſſport to Heaven; and there are few of them who do not at one time or other of their lives take that painful and hazardous journey. As this is a very intereſting journey, however, to travel in the cloſet, as it includes the deſcription of a caravan, and ſerves to ſhew to what extremities enthuſiaſm can influence men, I will give you a deſcription of it as handed to me by a very accurate and ingenious perſon, on whoſe preciſe veracity I can rely; firſt making ſome remarks upon the preceding part of this letter.

You will obſerve from what I have already ſaid, that, excepting the mere points of religious faith, the moral ordinances of Mahomedaniſm comprehend moſt of thoſe parts of the Chriſtian religion, on the practice of which the reputation of piety is founded; and that for ſtrict obedience to thoſe ordinances the Mahomedans are more remarkable than we are. Adultery is not frequent among them; wine

is ſeldom or never uſed; theft is little known; ſo is murder. Then in the practical parts of devotion, there are in the firſt place prayers; ſecondly, abſtinence or faſting; thirdly, charity. Thoſe are all Chriſtian doctrines, more zealouſly obſerved by them than by us. Their ablutions are at leaſt no injury to the cauſe of morality or piety; but rather, being done as a religious exerciſe, ſerve to keep up the ſeries of intercourſe which ſhould ſubſiſt between the Creature and his Creator: beſides, I cannot help thinking with our inimitable poet Thomſon, that

> ——from the body's purity, the mind
> Receives a ſecret ſympathetic aid. SEASONS—Summer.

And as to the pilgrimage to Mecca, however irrational it may appear to us, it is at leaſt recommended by ſincerity and zeal, and is doubtleſs in the eye of an all-ſeeing Providence meritorious. HE, we are to ſuppoſe, will judge not by the value of the act but the purity of the motive; and will accept it as the offering of a frail, blind mortal, bending in obedience to that which he conceives to be the will of Heaven. Beſides, for the life of me I cannot ſee why a pilgrimage to Mecca is at all more culpable than a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem; not to mention the thouſand other holy places to which well-meaning Chriſtians go, for their ſoul's ſake, at imminent hazard of their lives, and certain mortification and hardſhip to their bodies.

Baniſh then, my FREDERICK! baniſh from your heart all illiberal and

and uncharitable prejudices, if any have yet found their way to it. Revere and cling to your Religion as the beſt and moſt conducive to eternal and temporal happineſs; and the more good becauſe it enjoins us to be charitable even to the Jews as well as to the Gentiles: but never think that you advance the cauſe of that Religion, or do ſervice to your GOD, by waging war againſt your fellow-creatures for opinions they can no more help entertaining than you can help having yours, or by denouncing againſt them that eternal ſentence which reſts with the Almighty alone to judge of or to pronounce.

To a benevolent mind the animoſities of mankind preſent a moſt afflicting picture; and the frivolous pretexts upon which thoſe animoſities are grounded render it only the more horrible. One would think that the ſubſtantial traffic of life, and the ſtruggle of mankind for the ſuperfluities of it, of themſelves afforded ample materials for ſcuffle, without reſorting to the ſhadows of ſpeculation for contention. Yet experience has ſhewn us that opinion is a much more copious ſource of animoſity and warfare; and that for one man who has been curſed, murdered, or deſtroyed by his fellow-creatures in a conteſt for property, there are a thouſand who have fallen ſacrifices to the vengeance of hoſtile opinion:

Ταρασσει τυς ανθρωπυς ου τα πραγματα, αλλα τα περι των πραγματων δογματα.

Were it poſſible that I could obtain from the bounty of Heaven a grant of the firſt wiſh of my heart, that wiſh ſhould be to ſee all mankind

mankind in harmony and mutual good will, ranging without diſtinction under the one great name of Man and Brother. As thoſe who foment the diſunion between them are the moſt pernicious monſters of ſociety, ſo he who endeavours to bring them one ſtep nearer to a general accommodation of ſentiment, who ſtrives to inculcate the principles of mutual toleration, and encourage the growth of reciprocal affection between men as fellow beings, may be juſtly ranked among the beſt friends of mankind, and the moſt faithful ſervants of Him who gave being to all.

Among the groſs miſrepreſentations of which I complain, and which for the ſake of mankind I lament, is that general falſehood, the infidelity of the Turkiſh women. The reſpectable author whom I have before taken the freedom of quoting, I mean Dr. Ruſſel, declares that in twenty years reſidence at Aleppo, he did not remember a public inſtance of adultery; and that in the private walks of ſcandal thoſe he heard of were among the loweſt claſs, and did not in number exceed a dozen. "In reſpect to the Franks (continues he) the under-"taking is attended not only with ſuch riſk to the individual, but "may in its conſequences ſo ſeriouſly involve the whole ſettlement, "that it is either never attempted, or is concealed with a ſecrecy un-"exampled in other matters. I have reaſon to believe that European "travellers have ſometimes had a Greek courteſan impoſed on them "for a Sultana; and after having been heartily frightened, have been "induced to pay ſmartly, in order to preſerve a ſecret which the day

"after

" after was known to half the ſiſterhood in town." He remarks, however, that at Conſtantinople the ſtate of gallantry is different.

On the ſubject of the Turkiſh moral character, I have endeavoured to be as conciſe as juſtice would allow me to be; and yet I find that I have gone to ſome length. I cannot however diſmiſs it without giving you a trait to which the moſt obſtinate polemical prejudice, and the moſt inveterate hatred, muſt in ſpite of them pay the tribute of applauſe. Their treatment to their ſlaves is beyond all example among us humane, tender, and generous, and ſuch as may well bring a bluſh in the faces of Chriſtian dealers in human fleſh. When young ſlaves, male or female, are bought by a Turk, they ſeem to be introduced into the family rather in the condition of an adopted child; they receive the ſame education, perform nearly the ſame offices, and are bound to no greater marks of reſpect than their maſter's own children—and in fact feel none of the galling circumſtances of a ſtate of ſervility; the very worſt treatment they ever receive is to be put on a footing with the menial domeſtics, or ordered to the ſame duty as a valet or a page. It often happens, on the other hand, that they are married into the family, and very frequently are promoted to high offices in the State. If they adopt the Religion of their maſters, it is always ſpontaneouſly; and even to ſlaves taken in war, no compulſion is uſed to make them change their Faith.

The following is the beſt deſcription I am able to give you of an Eaſtern Caravan. It exactly coincides with my own obſervations, and

with

with the various accounts I have had from others. I owe it, as well as the account of the proceedings of the pilgrims at Mecca, to the kind offices of a friend, who took the pains to procure them for me.

DESCRIPTION OF A CARAVAN.

Incloſed in the preceding Letter.

A CARAVAN, which is ſo often mentioned in the hiſtory and deſcription of the Eaſt, and in all the tales and ſtories of thoſe countries, is an aſſemblage of travellers, partly pilgrims, partly merchants, who collect together in order to conſolidate a ſufficient force to protect them, in travelling through the hideous wilds and burning deſerts over which they are conſtrained to paſs for commercial and other purpoſes; thoſe wilds being infeſted with Arabs, who make a profeſſion of pillage, and rob in moſt formidable bodies, ſome almoſt as large as ſmall armies. As the collection of ſuch a number requires time, and the embodying of them is a ſerious concern, it is concerted with great care and preparation, and is never attempted without the permiſſion of the Prince in whoſe dominions it is to be formed, and of thoſe alſo

through

through whoſe dominions it is to paſs, expreſſed in writing. The exact number of men and carriages, mules, horſes, and other beaſts of burthen, are ſpecified in the licenſe; and the merchants to whom the caravan belongs, regulate and direct every thing appertaining to its government and police during the journey, and appoint the various officers neceſſary for conducting it.

Each caravan has four principal officers: the firſt, the Caravanbachi, or head of the caravan; the ſecond, the Captain of the march; the third, the Captain of the ſtop or reſt; and the fourth, the Captain of the diſtribution. The firſt has the uncontroulable authority and command over all the others, and gives them his orders: the ſecond is abſolute during the march; but his authority immediately ceaſes on the ſtopping or encamping of the caravan, when the third aſſumes his ſhare of the authority, and exerts it during the time of its remaining at reſt: and the fourth orders the diſpoſition of every part of the caravan, in caſe of an attack or battle. This laſt officer has alſo during the march the inſpection and direction of the diſtribution of proviſions, which is conducted under his management by ſeveral inferior officers, who are obliged to give ſecurity to the maſter of the caravan; each of them having the care of a certain number of men, elephants, dromedaries, camels, &c. &c. which they undertake to conduct and furniſh with proviſions at their own riſque, according to an agreement ſtipulated between them.

A fifth officer of the caravan is the pay-maſter or treaſurer, who

has under him a great many clerks and interpreters, appointed to keep accurate journals of all the material incidents that occur upon the journey. And it is by theſe journals, ſigned by the ſuperior officers, that the owners of the caravan judge whether they have been well or ill ſerved or conducted.

Another kind of officers are the Mathematicians, without whom no caravan will preſume to ſet out. There are commonly three of them attached to a caravan of large ſize; and they perform the offices both of quarter-maſters and aides-de-camp, leading the troops when the caravan is attacked, and aſſigning the quarters where the caravan is appointed to encamp.

There are no leſs than five diſtinct ſorts of caravans: firſt, the heavy caravans, which are compoſed of elephants, dromedaries, camels, and horſes; ſecondly, the light caravans, which have but few elephants; thirdly, the common caravans, where there are none of thoſe animals; fourthly, the horſe caravans, where there are neither dromedaries nor camels; and laſtly, ſea caravans, conſiſting of veſſels; from whence you will obſerve that the word caravan is not confined to the land, but extends to the water alſo.

The proportion obſerved in the heavy caravan is as follows: When there are five hundred elephants, they add a thouſand dromedaries and two thouſand horſes at the leaſt; and then the eſcort is compoſed of four thouſand men on horſeback. Two men are required for leading one elephant, five for three dromedaries, and ſeven for

eleven camels. This multitude of ſervants, together with the officers and paſſengers, whoſe number is uncertain, ſerve to ſupport the eſcort in caſe of a fight, and render the caravan more formidable and ſecure. The paſſengers are not abſolutely obliged to fight; but according to the laws and uſages of the caravans, if they refuſe to do ſo, they are not entitled to any proviſions whatever from the caravan, even though they ſhould agree to pay an extravagant price for them.

Every elephant is mounted by what they call a Nick; that is to ſay, a young lad of nine or ten years old, brought up to the buſineſs, who drives the elephant, and pricks it with a pointed iron to animate it in the fight: the ſame lad alſo loads the fire-arms of the two ſoldiers who mount the elephant with him.

The day of the caravan ſetting out being once fixed, is never altered or poſtponed; ſo that no diſappointment can poſſibly enſue to any one.

One would ſuppoſe that ſo enormous and powerful a body, ſo well armed, might be certain of moving forward without fear of being robbed; but as moſt of the Arabian Princes have no other means to ſubſiſt but by their robberies, they keep ſpies in all parts, who give them notice when the caravans ſet out, which they way-lay; and ſometimes attack with ſuperior force, overpower them, plunder them of all their treaſure, and make ſlaves of the whole convoy—foreigners excepted, to whom they generally ſhew more mercy. If they are repulſed, they generally come to ſome agreement; the conditions of

which are pretty well obſerved, eſpecially if the aſſailants are native Arabians. The carrying on of robberies with ſuch armies may appear aſtoniſhing; but when the temptation is conſidered, and when it is known that one caravan only is ſometimes enough to enrich thoſe Princes, much of our ſurpriſe vaniſhes.

They are obliged to uſe great precautions to prevent the caravan from introducing that dreadful diſtemper, the plague, into the places through which they paſs, or from being themſelves infected with it. When therefore they arrive near a town, the inhabitants of the town and the people of the caravan hold a ſolemn conference concerning the ſtate of their health, and very ſincerely communicate to each other the ſtate of the caſe, candidly informing each other whether there be danger on either ſide.—When there is reaſon to ſuſpect any contagious diſtemper, they amicably agree that no communication whatever ſhall take place between them; and if the caravan ſtands in need of proviſions, they are conveyed to them with the utmoſt caution over the walls of the town.

The fatigues, hardſhips, and hazards, attending thoſe caravans, are ſo great, that they certainly would never be undertaken, if the amazing profits did not in ſome meaſure counterbalance them.—The merchant who travels in them muſt be content with ſuch proviſions as he can get, muſt part with all his delicacies, and give up all hope of eaſe; he muſt ſubmit to the frightful confuſion of languages and nations; the fatigues of long marches over ſands, and under a cli-

mate

mate almoſt ſufficiently hot to reduce him to a cinder: he muſt ſubmit cheerfully to exorbitant duties fraudulently levied, and audacious robberies and ſubtle tricks practiſed by the herd of vagabonds who follow the caravans—for preventing which, the merchants have a variety of well contrived locks, that can only be opened by thoſe who know the knack of them.

But in ſome tracks of caravans there are dangers, and horrible ones, againſt which no human foreſight or power can provide, and beneath which whole caravans ſink, and are never after heard of.

The Egyptian caravans are particularly ſubject to hazards in the horrid tracks they are neceſſarily obliged to take through ſandy deſerts, where, for boundleſs extents, nature has denied one ſingle circumſtance of favour; where a blade of graſs never grew, nor a drop of water ever ran; where the ſcorching fire of the ſun has baniſhed the kindly influence of the other elements; where, for ſeveral days journey, no object meets the eye to guide the parched traveller in his way; and where the caſual track of one caravan is cloſed by the moving ſands, before another can come to take advantage of it. In thoſe vaſt plains of burning ſands, if the guide ſhould happen to loſe his way, the proviſion of water, ſo neceſſary to carry them to the place where they are to find more, muſt infallibly fail them: in ſuch a caſe the mules and horſes die with fatigue and thirſt; and even the camels, notwithſtanding their extraordinary power to ſubſiſt without water, ſoon periſh in the ſame manner, together

gether with the people of the caravan, wandering in thoſe frightful deſerts.

But more dreadful ſtill, and ſtill more inevitable, is the danger when a ſouth wind happens to riſe in thoſe ſandy deſerts. The leaſt miſchief it occaſions is, to dry up the leathern bags which contain the proviſion of water for the journey. This wind, to which the Arabs give the epithet of poiſoned, often ſtifles in a moment thoſe who have the misfortune to meet it; to prevent which, they are obliged to throw themſelves immediately on the ground, putting their faces cloſe to the burning ſands which ſurround them on all ſides, and covering their mouths with ſome linen cloth, leſt by breathing they ſhould ſwallow inſtantaneous death, which this wind carries with it wherever it extends.—Beſides which, whole caravans are often buried under moving hills of burning ſand, raiſed by the agitation of the winds.

All thoſe horrors and dangers are ſo exquiſitely deſcribed by our charming bard THOMSON, that I cannot refrain from tranſcribing the paſſage, as bringing them more immediately home to the underſtanding and the heart, than volumes of common deſcription could do.

——— Breathed hot
From all the boundleſs furnace of the ſky,
And the wide glittering waſte of burning ſand,
A ſuffocating wind the pilgrim ſmites
With inſtant death. Patient of thirſt and toil,
Son of the Deſert! even the camel feels,

Shot

Shot through his withered heart, the fiery blaſt.
Or from the black-red ether burſting broad
Sallies the ſudden whirlwind. Straight the ſands,
Commov'd around, in gathering eddies play;
Nearer and nearer ſtill they darkening come;
Till, with the general all-involving ſtorm
Swept up, the whole continuous wilds ariſe;
And by their noon-day fount dejected thrown,
Or ſunk at night in ſad diſaſtrous ſleep
Beneath deſcending hills, the caravan
Is buried deep. In Cairo's crowded ſtreets
Th' impatient Merchant wondering waits in vain,
And Mecca ſaddens at the long delay.——

Yet, notwithſtanding all thoſe horrible circumſtances of terror and danger—trade, and the deſire of gain, on the one hand, induce multitudes of people to run the hazard:

Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos,
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per ſaxa, per ignes.

HORACE.

And on the other hand, enthuſiaſm and religious zeal ſend thouſands to tempt their fate, and take a paſſage to Heaven through thoſe horrid regions. Thus we ſee in what various ways deluſion operates. —The Merchant might find a livelihood, and the Bigot his way to divine favour, juſt as well by ſtaying within the confines of their own native home.

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONIES OBSERVED BY PILGRIMS ON THEIR ARRIVAL AT MECCA.

THE caravans are generally ſo ordered as to arrive at Mecca about forty days after the Faſt of Ramedan, and immediately previous to the Corban, or Great Sacrifice. Five or ſix days before that Feſtival, the three great caravans, viz. that from Europe, that from Aſia Minor, and that from Arabia, unite; and all, conſiſting of about two hundred thouſand men, and three hundred thouſand beaſts of burthen, encamp at ſome miles from Mecca. The pilgrims form themſelves into ſmall detachments, and enter the town to arrange the ceremonies preparatory to the Great Sacrifice. They are led through a ſtreet of continual aſcent, till they arrive at a gate on an eminence, called the Gate of Health. From thence they ſee the great Moſque which incloſes the Houſe of Abraham. They ſalute it with the moſt profound reſpect and devotion, repeating twice, "Salam Alek Iruſoul Allah!" that is to ſay, "Peace be with the "Ambaſſador of God!" Thence, at ſome diſtance, they mount five ſteps to a large platform faced with ſtone, where they offer up their prayers; they then deſcend on the other ſide of it, and advance towards two arches, of the ſame kind of dimenſions, but at ſome diſtance from each other, through which they paſs with great ſilence and devotion. This ceremony muſt be performed ſeven times.

From hence proceeding to the great Moſque which incloſes the Houſe of Abraham, they enter the Moſque, and walk ſeven times round the little building contained within it, ſaying, "This is the "Houſe of GOD, and of his ſervant Abraham." Then kiſſing with great veneration a black ſtone, ſaid to have deſcended white from Heaven, they go to the famous Well called Zun Zun, which the Angel ſhewed to Hagar when ſhe was diſtreſſed in the deſert, and could find no water for her ſon Iſhmael, and which the Arabs call Zem Zem. Into this Well they plunge with all their clothes, repeating "Toba Alla, Toba Alla!" that is to ſay, "Forgiveneſs, GOD! Forgiveneſs, GOD!" They then drink a draught of that fœtid, turbid water, and depart.

The duty of bathing and drinking they are obliged to paſs through once; but thoſe who would gain Paradiſe before the others, muſt repeat it once a day during the ſtay of the Caravan at Mecca.

At fifteen miles from the town of Mecca there is a hill called "Ghiabal Arafata," or "the Mount of Forgiveneſs." It is about two miles in circumference—a moſt delicious ſpot. On it ADAM and EVE met, after the LORD had, for their tranſgreſſions, ſeparated them forty years. Here they cohabited and lived in exceſs of happineſs, having built a houſe on it, called "Beith Adam," that is to ſay, "the Houſe of Adam." On the eve of the day of Sacrifice, the three caravans, ranged in a triangular form, ſurround this mountain - during the whole night the people rejoice, clamour and

riot—firing off cannon, muſkets, piſtols, and fire-works, with an inceſſant ſound of drums and trumpets. As ſoon as day breaks, a profound ſilence ſucceeds—they ſlay their ſheep and offer up their ſacrifice on the mountain with every demonſtration of the moſt profound devotion.

On a ſudden a Scheik (or Head of a Temple), a kind of Prelate, ruſhes from amidſt them, mounted on a camel—he aſcends five ſteps, rendered practicable for the purpoſe, and in a ſtudied ſermon preaches thus to the people:

" Return praiſe and thanks for the infinite and immenſe benefits " granted by GOD to Mahomedans, through the mediation of his " moſt beloved friend and prophet, Mahomet: for that he has de- " livered them from the ſlavery and bondage of ſin and idolatry, in " which they were plunged; has given them the Houſe of Abra- " ham, from whence they can be heard, and their petitions granted; " alſo the Mountain of forgiveneſs, by which they can implore Him, " and obtain a pardon and remiſſion of all their ſins.

" For that the bleſſed, pious, and merciful GOD, giver of all " good gifts, commanded his ſecretary, Abraham, to build himſelf " a houſe at Mecca, whence his deſcendants might pray to the Al- " mighty, and their deſires be fulfilled.

" On this command all the mountains in the world ran, as it " were, each ambitious to aſſiſt the Secretary of the LORD, and to " furniſh a ſtone towards erecting the holy houſe; all, except this

" poor

" poor little Mountain, which, through mere indigence, could not " contribute a ſtone. It continued therefore thirty years grievouſly " afflicted: at length the Eternal GOD obſerved its anguiſh, and, " moved with pity at its long ſuffering, broke forth, ſaying, I can " forbear no longer, my child! your bitter lamentations have reached " my ears; and I now declare, that all thoſe who go to viſit the " houſe of my friend Abraham ſhall not be abſolved of their ſins, " if they do not firſt reverence you, and celebrate on you the holy " Sacrifice, which I have enjoined my people through the mouth " of my prophet Mahomet! Love GOD! Pray! Give Alms!"

After this ſermon the people ſalute the Mountain, and depart.

LETTER XXXII.

IN my laſt letters I endeavoured to give you an account of the Turkiſh Government, Laws, and Conſtitution in general, ſo far as I was able to collect information on the ſubject. I will now proceed to a deſcription of thoſe particular parts of that vaſt Empire through which I had occaſion to travel.

During my ſtay at Aleppo, I experienced much politeneſs and

hoſpitality from the European gentry reſident there, and particularly from Mr. ———, at whoſe houſe I entirely reſided; and as the Franks live on a very good footing with each other, the time paſſed ſo agreeably, that were it not for " that within," I ſhould have been happy enough—We rode out occaſionally, ſometimes hunting, ſometimes merely for the ride ſake. Sometimes with an intelligent native whom I got to walk with me, or with ſome of the Franks, I walked about the town, in order to amuſe away the time and ſee what was going forward, notwithſtanding the cry of " Frangi Cucu!" or " Cuckold Frank!" which frequently followed us for the length of a ſtreet. Sometimes we went of evenings to ſome of the outlets, where preparation was made for our reception by ſervants, previouſly diſpatched for the purpoſe, and there regaled with coffee, wine, fruits, &c.

The firſt day we went on a party of the laſt mentioned kind, Mrs. ——— did us the honour to accompany us: the place appointed was in a range of beautiful rural gardens that lie along the ſide of a river; where the well cultivated earth teeming with a vaſt abundance of the beſt eſculent plants, flowers, flowering ſhrubs and fruit-trees, afforded a moſt delicious regale to the ſenſes; and the plane, the willow, the aſh, the pomegranate, and a variety of other trees, cluſtered together in almoſt impervious thickets, yielded a delightful ſhady retreat from the piercing rays of the Sun. It was on this occaſion that I got the firſt ſpecimen of Turkiſh illiberality, which, as I was entirely unprepared for it, confounded me, and nearly deprived

deprived me of temper and of prudence. As we walked along, I obſerved ſeveral Turks addreſſing themſelves to Mrs. ——— and me, who walked arm in arm, and ſpeaking with a loudneſs of voice, contortion of countenance, and violence of geſticulation, attended with a clapping of hands, which, though I did not underſtand their language, I could plainly perceive carried the appearance of menace or inſult. I was at a loſs what to think of it: Mrs. —— bluſhed, and ſeemed much hurt: Mr. ——— and the other gentlemen were ſilent, and betrayed not the leaſt mark of emotion or reſentment. At length, when we got from them, I aſked what it meant? and was told, that it was all aimed at Mrs. ———, or at leaſt occaſioned by her: that, bigoted to the cuſtoms of their own country, and utterly ignorant of thoſe of any other, they were affected with great indignation at her dreſs, occaſional derangement of her veil, and, above all, at the ſhameleſs and unpardonably wicked circumſtance of a woman walking ſo openly and familiarly in the company of men. Talking of this affair afterwards with Mr. ———, the lady's huſband, he aſſured me, that there was not an opprobrious and infamous epithet which the vulgar ingenuity of the brighteſt quean in Billingſgate could think of, that they had not huddled upon us. I was beyond meaſure aſtoniſhed at the coolneſs with which he bore it, and ſaid, that if I had underſtood what they had ſaid, I ſhould moſt certainly have been unable to reſtrain myſelf, and would have knocked one of them down as an example

to

to the reſt. Had you done ſo, returned he, you would certainly have repented it: for, if you eſcaped being ſtoned, or put to death upon the ſpot, the legal puniſhment for an infidel ſtriking a true believer, you could not eſcape; and probably we, and all the Franks in the city, would ſuffer for it: it would at all events cauſe a dreadful convulſion in the place, and you would yourſelf fall a ſacrifice to it.

Not long ſince I was converſing on this ſubject with a gentleman of my acquaintance, and mentioned it with ſome aſperity, as ariſing from a ſpirit of bigotry peculiar to Mahomedans.—" My " good Sir," ſaid he, " let me undeceive you! the very ſame would " be done in moſt parts of Spain. I was one day," continued he, " walking in a town in Spain, in company with the wife of a gen- " tleman who reſided there, who were both well known, and bore " the moſt unexceptionable character. Seeing me however walking " with her, the populace, as we paſſed, held up two fingers ſignifi- " cantly, and cried to her, What a cuckold is your huſband! and " concluded with 'Todas las Ingleſas ſon putas,' or, 'All Engliſh " women are ——s.' He added, " that he was even in Cadiz, where " commercial intercourſe renders them rather more liberal than in " other parts of that country, frequently accoſted by little children " themſelves, with 'Crees in Dios?' Do you believe in God? and " ſometimes forming a croſs with the thumb of the right hand and " the forefinger, 'Crees en eſte? Crees en eſte? No! No! Ah Ju- " dio!

" dio ! Moro ! Barbaro ! Bruto ! Proteſtante ! Puerco ! Voia al los " Infernos ! !' In Engliſh—Do you believe in this ? Do you be- " lieve in this ? No ! No ! Ah Jew ! Moor ! Barbarian ! Proteſtant ! " Hog ! Go to Hell ! !"

So much for human beneficence and charity, under the foſtering auſpices of religion !

The houſe of Mr. ———, where I was ſo hoſpitably lodged, was a magnificent edifice, built in all the fullneſs of Eaſtern grandeur and luxury, and furniſhed with all the ſplendour and ſtate of Turkey, united with the taſte and opulence of Great Britain. It was indeed a houſe in which voluptuouſneſs itſelf might ſit down with ſatisfaction—The moſt unaffected hoſpitality and generous benevolence invited and ſpread the board, and politeneſs and affability preſided over all. Never ſhall I forget it—never ſhall I think of it without gratitude and eſteem.

A gentleman of the opulence and conſequence of Mr. ———, with a houſe ſuch as I have deſcribed, and a diſpoſition to ſocial enjoyment, was not, you will conclude, without a reſort of company and friends ; in truth, he had friends even among the better ſort of Turks. Parties of pleaſure had no intermiſſion while I was there ; and as the ladies of Europe or of European extraction in that country are highly accompliſhed, ſpeak many languages, are indefatigable in their efforts to pleaſe, and receive ſtrangers from Europe with a joy and ſatisfaction not to be deſcribed, Aleppo would have been

to me an Elyſium, if the pleaſures of the place did not from the beginning ſuffer diminution from my own painful ſenſations, which were aggravated at laſt by an incident that aroſe from my intercourſe there—of which more hereafter.

While I remained at Aleppo, I walked, as I before told you, frequently about the ſtreets; and I think I never was witneſs to ſo many broils in all my life put together, as I was in my wanderings there—Not a time I went out that I did not obſerve one, two, three, and ſometimes half a dozen or more. They have nothing terrible in them however, and, were it not extremely diſguſting to ſee men ſcold, would be very entertaining; for I will venture to ſay that a ſtreet battle "à la Turque" is one of the moſt ludicrous exhibitions in the world. The parties approach to each other, and retreat mutually, as the action of the one gives hopes to the other of victory, lifting their hands, and flouriſhing them in the air, as if ready to ſtrike every moment, grinning and gnaſhing their teeth, while their beard and whiſkers beſprent with the ſpume of their mouths, and wagging with the quick motion of their lips and ghaſtly contortions of their jaws, preſent the moſt ridiculous ſpectacle imaginable. They reminded me at the time of a verſe in an old Engliſh Ballad:—

'Tis merry in the hall,
When beards wag all.

Nothing, in fact, can exceed the extravagance of their geſture: the

the vehement loudneſs of their voice, or the whimſical diſtortions of their countenances, in which are diſplayed ſometimes the quickeſt viciſſitudes of fear and fury, and ſometimes the moſt laughable combination of both. All this time, however, not a ſingle blow is actually ſtruck; but they compenſate for the want of bodily proweſs by the exerciſe of the tongue, denouncing vengeance againſt each other, threatening inſtant demolition, laviſhing every bitter reproach, every filthy epithet, and every horrible imprecation that they can think of, and both boaſting occaſionally of their patience and forbearance, which fortunately enabled them to refrain from annihilating their adverſary. At laſt the fray gradually decays: exhauſted with fatigue, and half choaked with duſt and vociferation, they retreat gradually backwards to their own doors; where ſumming up all their malignity into a moſt horrid execration, they part for the time, and retire to vaunt in empty threat, and growl away their rage, in the receſſes of their Haram.

Yet thoſe people are found terrible in battle by the Chriſtian troops that have from time to time been oppoſed to them: here, if proof be wanting of the effects of Religion on the human mind, is an incontrovertible one of its powerful operations. Under the influence of their faith, which tells them that they go to Paradiſe inſtantly if killed in battle with Infidels, they perform prodigies of valour fighting againſt Chriſtians; while, forbidden by that faith to imbrue their hands in the blood of a true believer, their paſſions have been gradu-

ally brought under the dominion of their religion, till that which at firſt was faith at laſt becomes habit, and the appropriate energy and courage of the man has ſunk into the degrading and emaſculant efforts of the woman.

The practice of fighting, or perſonal conflicts between individuals of the ſame ſociety, ſeems to have been condemned by the univerſal conſent of all religions. The Gentoos, as well as all the other ſects of the various parts of the Eaſt through which I have travelled, give vent to their paſſion in nearly the ſame manner as the Turks. The Chriſtians too are moſt ſtrictly forbidden to ſtrike one another by the great Author of their faith: but it is their good fortune, that they not only have the beſt religion in the world for their guidance, but that they are the only people in the world who claim exemption from the penalties of that religion, and think themſelves wronged and their perſonal rights infringed, if they are refuſed the privilege of breaking through its rules whenever thoſe rules are at variance with their convenience.

Be it your care, my dear child! to fortify your mind with the ſpirit of true religion and ſound morality, and let your practice in life be ever guided by their precepts.

LETTER XXXIII.

THE avidity with which human creatures ſearch for ſomething to recreate the mind and keep it in exerciſe, is of itſelf a convincing proof of the natural activity of our intellectual faculties, and ſhews that, like the different parts of the body, they were given by Providence to be called into effort and improved by practice. As they who by the favours of opulence are exempted from the neceſſity of actual bodily labour, are obliged to have recourſe to artificial labour called exerciſe; ſo they who have the misfortune to be precluded from the employment of the mind by buſineſs, are obliged to ſeek mental exerciſe in a variety of expedients, ſome of which are criminal, ſome fooliſh, and ſome good for nothing or indifferent. Cards, dice, and games of chance are (according to the extent to which they are carried) of the two former—tale and novel-reading of the two latter. Thoſe however ſerve to occupy the vacant hours of all the idle and unemployed. And when letters deny their friendly aid, we find among ourſelves the deficieney ſupplied from the leſs ample reſources of the memory; and ſtory-telling, love tales,

fairy tales, and goblin and ghoſt adventures, are recited round the villager's fire or the kitchen hearth in as great numbers, with as much ingenuity, and to as great effect, as they are to be found written in the innumerable volumes on the ſhelves of our circulating libraries.

In Turkey, where the art of printing has not yet been known, where the circulation of literary productions is chained down within the narrow compaſs of manuſcript, and where therefore the efforts of genius are repreſſed by diſcouragement, the buſineſs of ſtory-telling makes in itſelf a profeſſion, which, as it is acquired by ſtudy and proſecuted with art, is followed with conſiderable profit.

One day a friend (a French gentleman) who eſcorted me through the town, called to draw me out with him for a walk; he ſaid he wiſhed to ſhew me ſome of the caravanſeras, obſerving that he thought I ſhould be entertained with a view of them. I agreed to go; and he brought me to two, which, after he had ſhewn to me and explained their principle, police, and etiquette, I could not help admiring and approving. To both theſe were attached eating-houſes and coffee-houſes, and every appendage that could render them convenient and comfortable. As we were about leaving the laſt, I obſerved my friend ſtop and liſten attentively. "Come hither," ſaid he, after a minute's pauſe—"come into this coffee-houſe, here is ſomething going forward that may amuſe you."

We accordingly entered the coffee-houſe, where we ſaw a number of people, ſome ſeated in the Turkiſh faſhion, ſome on low

ſtools, and ſome ſtanding; and in the middle a man walking to and fro, ſpeaking in an audible voice, ſometimes ſlowly, ſometimes with rapidity, varying his tones occaſionally with all the inflexions of a correſponding ſenſe. I could not underſtand him, but he ſeemed to me to ſpeak with "good emphaſis and good diſcretion:" his action was eaſy to him, though expreſſive and emphatical; and his countenance exhibited ſtrong marks of eloquent expreſſion. I could not help ſtaring with aſtoniſhment at a ſcene ſo new to me, and felt great approbation of the tones and manner of this extraordinary orator, though I could not underſtand a ſingle word he ſaid. He was liſtened to by all with great attention, and the Turks (albeit not uſed to the laughing mood) frequently betrayed ſtrong ſymptoms of riſibility: but in the height and torrent of his ſpeech he broke ſuddenly off, ſcampered out of the door, and diſappeared. I ſet it down that he was a maniac or lunatic of an ingenious kind, and was for going away. "Stay," ſays my friend, "reſt where you are for a few minutes, let us hear further."

The orator had ſcarcely been gone three minutes when the room was filled with the buzz of converſation, a word of which I could not underſtand, but which my guide liſtened to very attentively. At length the buzz began to grow loud, and ſoon increaſed into clamour; when a ſcene enſued of ſo very ludicrous a kind as forced me to cram my handkerchief into my mouth to ſuppreſs a laugh, or at leaſt ſo to ſtifle it as to avoid obſervation. In ſhort,

they

they were diſputing violently, and the beards were, as I once before mentioned to you, ALL WAGGING. I became more convulſed with mirth; and my friend ſeeing that I was likely to give offence, took me under the arm and hurried me out of the coffee-houſe: we retired into a porch in the caravanſera, where I gave vent to my ſuppreſſed laughter till my ſides were ſore and my eyes ran tears.

"In the name of God, my friend!" ſaid I, "tell me what is the meaning of all that extravagant ſcene to which we have juſt now been witneſs: who is that madman that ſpoke ſo much? and why did they all quarrel after he went away?"

"Come, come," ſaid he, "let us retire to my houſe, and I will there explain the whole of it to you, from beginning to ending."

I accordingly accompanied him home, where we found a very gay circle aſſembled, to whom he deſcribed my aſtoniſhment; recounting my immoderate laughter, till they all laughed very nearly as immoderately as myſelf. "You muſt know," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to me, "that he whom you took to be a madman, is one of the moſt celebrated compoſers and tellers of ſtories in Aſia, and only wants the aid of printing, to be perhaps as eminent in reputation for making CONTES, as Marmontel or Madame D'Anois. As we paſſed along I heard his voice, and, knowing it, reſolved to let you ſee him, and brought you in for the purpoſe. He was entertaining the company with a very curious, intereſting, and comical ſtory; the ſubject of which was avarice; the hero a miſer of the name

of

of Caſſem. His miſery and avarice are repreſented in it as bringing him into a variety of ſcrapes, which waſte his wealth ; and his character is drawn with ſuch ſtrength of colouring, and marked with ſuch groteſque lines of humour—he related it moreover with ſo much wit, in ſuch admirable language, and embelliſhed and enforced it with ſuch appropriate action, utterance and emphaſis—that it riveted, as you ſaw, the attention of all his auditors, and extorted laughter even from Turkiſh gravity."

" But how came he to break off ſo ſuddenly ?", ſaid I.

" That," returned my friend, " is a part of the art of his profeſſion, without which he could not live: juſt as he gets to a moſt intereſting part of the ſtory, when he has wound the imagination of his auditors up to the higheſt climax of expectation, he purpoſely breaks off to make them eager for the reſt. He is ſure to have them all next day, with additional numbers who come on their report, and he makes his terms to finiſh the ſtory."

" Why then," interrupted I, " why did they who remained behind fall diſputing ?"

" That I will explain to you," ſaid he. " Juſt as he broke off, Caſſem the miſer (who, as far as I heard, ſeems as well drawn as Moliere's AVARE) having already ſuffered a thouſand whimſical miſfortunes and dilapidations of fortune, is brought before the Cadi for digging in his garden, on the preſumption that he was digging for treaſure. As ſoon as the hiſtorian was gone, they firſt applauded him,

him, and then began to diſcuſs his ſtory—which they one and all agreed in praiſing highly: and when they came to talk of the probable iſſue of the ſequel of it, there were almoſt as many opinions as there were men in company; each maintained his own, and they went to loggerheads as you ſaw about it—when the chance is a thouſand to one, that not one of them was near the mark. One in particular ſurmiſed that Caſſem would be married to the Cadi's daughter; which gave great offence to ſome, and rouſed another of the company to declare, that he was well aſſured in his conſcience that Caſſem would be brought to the baſtinado or the ſtake, or elſe hanged, in the ſequel."

"And is it poſſible," ſaid I, "that a group of twenty or thirty rational beings can be ſo far bereft of all common ſenſe, as to diſpute upon the reſult of a contingency, which abſolutely depends on the arbitrary fancy of an acknowledged fabricator of falſehoods?"

"*C'eſt vrai*, Monſieur! and thereby they demonſtrate the power of the poet (for poet we may well call him); and *entre nous*, I doubt whether it is not more rational, as well as more fair, to diſpute what the *denouement* ought to be before than after the inventor of the piece has diſpoſed of it, as is the practice with us. When he has once finiſhed his fable, you will find them all content, and the voice of criticiſm ſilent. Now in France or England, our critics lie *perdue*, in order to attack the poet, let him finiſh his performance how he may. But you will recollect, Monſieur, that in Turkey criticiſm is the honeſt

ſpontaneous

ſpontaneous iſſue of the heart, and with us is a trade, where ſometimes lucre, ſometimes vanity, but oftener than both, envy and malice direct the deciſion, and diſpoſe to cavil and cenſure.

But we will go again to-morrow, continued he, probably he will be there to conclude or proceed further with his ſtory; I agreed to this and we parted.

On the next day we went, and not ſeeing the orator in his place, lounged about the caravanſera, and going to another coffee-houſe found him declaiming with all his might. My friend told me that the ſtory he was now on was quite different from the former: however we watched his motions ſo effectually that we got the concluſion of the ſtory of Caſſem, which completely diſappointed the prognoſtics of the two conflicting Turkiſh critics; for Caſſem was neither baſtinadoed, ſtaked, or hanged, nor married to the Cadi's daughter, but lived to ſee that extreme avarice was folly; and to be ſenſible that to make the proper uſe of the goods of this life is to enjoy them.

LETTER XXXIV.

My laſt letter has ſhewn you, that the conceptions of genius, though they may want the aid of the Preſs to bring them in full and perfect diſcloſure to the world, will yet burſt through their bounds, and find ſome means of communication with mankind; for though the art of Printing be unknown in Turkey, the emanations of ſuperior intellect and fancy find their way to the general ear through the medium of public declamation in coffee-houſes. This letter will ſerve to ſhew you that malverſation in office, public delinquency, and all thoſe crimes of the great, which with us are cognizable by no tribunal but that of the public preſs, are not altogether ſo exempt from the laſh and expoſure of the ſatiriſt in Turkey, as the want of that great palladium of Freedom would diſpoſe us to believe; and that, incredible as it may appear, the magiſtrates are held up to ridicule in public exhibition, ſatiriſed with all the extravagant vulgarity of coarſe humour and unpoliſhed wit, and expoſed with all the bitter exaggerations of envenomed genius.

The French gentleman whom I mentioned to you in my laſt,

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as having procured me that pleaſant repaſt at the coffee-houſe, called on me a morning or two after that, and reminded me how highly I ſeemed to be entertained; ſaid, there were often to be ſeen, by walking about and going into public places, a variety of things, which, however worthleſs and unentertaining in themſelves, might, from the novelty of their appearance, and their unlikelineſs to any thing ſeen in Europe, ſerve either to divert by their oddity, or promote the conception of new ideas in the mind: he therefore recommended it to me, with all the zeal of a perſon who took an intereſt in my happineſs, to keep on my legs and in the ſtreets while I remained at Aleppo.

You will conclude that I readily complied, and we ſallied out directly in queſt of adventure. We proceeded, therefore, to one of the beforementioned coffee-houſes, where, as my friend obſerved to me, though there were no people of great rank, there was generally ſomething to afford contemplation or amuſement; and where, if nothing elſe occurred, the motley appearance of the company was ſufficient to excite a variety of whimſical emotions, and ſuggeſt numberleſs ludicrous images to the imagination of an Engliſh or French man. As there was no orator at work declaiming, I had time to indulge myſelf with a more accurate view than I had before taken of the group that ſurrounded us: and ſurely never was ponderous gravity more ludicrouſly, or in more various forms depicted by any caricaturiſt in the world.—Here it was to

be ſeen, in all its ſhadings, from the ſelf-important nod of ſerious cogitation, down to the ſoporific aſpect of ſtolid ſtupidity. Not a muſcle was moved in way of mirth, not a face diſgraced with a ſmile, and I could not help thinking all the time, that if every nation of the earth was to take ſome animal for its inſignia, as the Britiſh aſſume the lion, and the Pruſſian the eagle, the Turks might be divided in their choice between the appropriate claims of the owl and the aſs.

Soon after we entered, a band of what they called muſic, ſtruck up a concert. And here again the notion of the owl and the aſs ſtruck me with increaſed force, as peculiarly preſiding over their muſic: for no other combination of ſounds that I know on earth, but the ſcreeching of the one, and the braying of the other, could form any thing to reſemble this concert, with which the auditory ſeemed vaſtly pleaſed, though I was obliged to betake myſelf to flight, in order to get relief from the torture it gave me. The Turks, however, as I retreated, honoured me with a few remarks, which as I did not underſtand, I could not preciſely feel; my friend however told me, they were to the effect that we were Frangi Dumus (Frank Hog), and had no more ear than that filthy animal for muſic.

Come, ſaid my friend, don't be diſcouraged!—But the muſic—the muſic! interrupted I.—Well then, ſaid he, the muſic, or rather the ſounds were execrable to be ſure; they have at leaſt ſerved to eſtabliſh this certainty, that there is nothing, however diſcordant or

deteſtable, which habit will not reconcile us to. Doubt not, ſaid he, that the beſt piece of Handel or Correlli, performed by the beſt band in Rome, would appear as ridiculous to them, as their concert did to us.

We viſited many coffee-houſes in the courſe of that day, in every one of which we found ſomething to divert or diſguſt us; at length as we entered one, my friendly guide turning to me with ſatisfaction in his countenance, ſaid "Here is ſomething about to go forward that will pleaſe you better than the concert of muſic." What is it, ſaid I? A drama, returned he; a drama, to you moſt certainly of a new and extraordinary kind; and I do aſſure you that ſo zealous am I to procure you entertainment, I would rather than a couple of loui's you could underſtand what is going forward: your hearty mirth and laughter, added he, are ſufficient to put one in ſpirits. He then directed my attention to a fellow who was buſily employed in erecting a ſtage, which he accompliſhed in a time incredibly ſhort. The light of the ſun was completely excluded, and a puppet ſhew commenced, which gave great delight to all the audience, and, ignorant as I was of the language, pleaſed me very much.

I was aſtoniſhed when informed that one man only ſpoke for all the perſonages of the drama, for ſo artfully did he change his tone of voice, that I could have ſworn there had been as many people to ſpeak, as there were characters in the piece. The images were not actually puppets, commonly ſo called, but ſhadows done in the manner

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of Aſtley's *Ombres Chinoiſes*. They were, however, far inferior to his in execution and management, though the dialogue and incident evidently appeared, even to me, to be executed with a degree of the *vis comica* far ſuperior to any I ever ſaw in a thing of the kind in Europe; indeed ſo perfect was the whole, that though I knew not a word of the language, I comprehended clearly the plan of the piece, and many of the ſtrokes of humour contained in the dialogues.—The plan was obviouſly taken from a ſtory which I have read in ſome of the Eaſtern tales, I believe the Arabian Nights Entertainments, and it is founded on the law of the country, that a man may repudiate his wife twice, and take her back again; but in the event of a third divorce, cannot retake her to his marriage-bed, unleſs ſhe be previouſly married and divorced by another man. To obviate which, huſbands who repent having divorced their wives a third time, employ a man to marry them, and reſtore her back again; and he who does this office is called a *Hullah*.—In the piece before us, however, the Lady and the Hullah like each other ſo well, that they agree not to ſeparate; the huſband brings them both before the Cadi to enforce a ſeparation; and the ſcene before the Cadi was as ludicrous, and as keen a ſatire upon thoſe magiſtrates as can well be conceived, though of the low kind.

The piece was introduced with a grand nuptial proceſſion, in which the maſter diſplayed the powers of his voice by uttering a variety of the moſt oppoſite tones in the whole gamut of the

human voice; ſometimes ſpeaking, ſometimes ſqueaking like a hurt child, ſometimes huzzaing as a man, a woman, or a child; ſometimes neighing like a horſe, and ſometimes interſperſing it with other ſuch ſounds as commonly occur in crowds, in ſuch a manner as aſtoniſhed me: while the concomitant action of the images, groteſque beyond meaſure, kept up the laugh; horſes kicking and throwing their riders, aſſes biting thoſe near them, and kicking thoſe behind them, who retire limping in the moſt ridiculous manner; while their great ſtanding character in all pieces, KARA-GHUSE (the ſame as our Punch), raiſed a general roar of obſtreperous mirth even from the Turks, with his whimſical action, of which I muſt ſay that, though nonſenſical, though indecent, and ſometimes even diſguſting, it was on the whole the moſt finiſhed compoſition of low ribaldry and fun that I ever beheld.

When they come before the Cadi, he is ſeated in his divan of juſtice; but as ſoon as the complaint is opened and anſwered, he riſes and comes forward between the contending parties: here he turns to one and demands in a terrific tone what he has to ſay, while the other puts caſh in his hand behind, and in proportion as the caſh is counted in, increaſes the terror of his voice; he then pockets the money, and again turns to the other, and demands what he has to offer, while in like manner he receives the bribes from his adverſary and puts it in an oppoſite pocket: this alternate application laſts 'till the purſes of both are exhauſted, when, giving a great groan, he retires on

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one ſide to reckon the money of each from a pocket he has on either ſide, one called plaintiff, and the other defendant; when balancing them, he finds plaintiff better by one aſper (or three-halfpence) than defendant, and pronounces his judgment accordingly. The defendant appeals to the Baſhaw; they go before him: KARA-GHUSE (Punch) however, takes the defendant aſide, and in a dialogue, which my friend aſſured me was pointed, witty, and bitterly ſatirical, developes to him the whole ſyſtem of magiſtratical injuſtice, adviſes him to bribe the Baſhaw, and, declaring his zeal for all young people fond of amorous enjoyment (which he is at ſome pains to enlarge upon to the exceſs of indelicacy), offers him the aid of his purſe. The advice is followed; the bribe is accepted; the Cadi's decree is reverſed, and himſelf diſgraced, and the mob at once huſtle him and bear the Hullah home to his bride with clamours of joy. Here again the maſter ſhewed his extraordinary powers, giving not only, as before, diſtinct and oppoſite tones of voice, but huddling a number of different ſounds with ſuch ſkill and rapidity together, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to reſiſt the perſuaſion that they were the iſſue of a large and tumultuous crowd of men and animals. With this extravagant *melange* the curtain dropped, and the performance ended.

Returning home we converſed together on the ſubject of the piece, which I confeſs I could not get out of my head for ſome time. My friend explained to me, as well as he could recollect, a great part of the dialogue, and aſſured me, that the freedom of ſpeech of Monſieur

ſieur KARA-GHUSE had from time to time created a great deal of uneaſineſs, not only to private offending individuals, but to the magiſtracy itſelf—that no offender, however intrenched behind power, or enſhrined in rank, could eſcape him—that Baſhaws, Cadi's, nay the Janiſſaries themſelves, were often made the ſport of his fury; that he was not more reſtrained in the effuſions of obſcenity which he uttered, than in his ſatire; that he was always well received and applauded, even venerated (as we venerate the liberty of the preſs) as a bold teller of truth, who with little miſchief does a great deal of good, and often rouſes the lethargic public mind to a ſenſe of public dangers and injuries. He added, that in ſome caſes the Magiſtrate had been obliged to interfere; and the Baſhaw himſelf was ſeriouſly called upon at times to ſtop the licentious tongue of this champion of Freedom, KARA-GHUSE.

"Well then," ſaid I, "it appears upon the whole that Monſieur KARA-GHUSE is a very great blackguard, but a very witty, and a very honeſt one."

"You have juſt hit it," ſaid he; and if Maſter Kara-ghuſe was to take ſuch liberties in France, Spain, Portugal, or Germany, all his wit and honeſty would not ſave him from puniſhment. In England you do not want him; every man there is a KARA-GHUSE, and every newſpaper a puppet-ſhew.

"And yet," returned I, "we complain ſadly of want of liberty!"

"That is natural," returned my ſagacious Frenchman, "perfectly

natural. Liberty is like money; the more we have of it, the more covetous we grow."

"Very true, Monſieur," ſaid I, pleaſed with his compliment to our happy Conſtitution, and to clinch his obſervation, gave a Latin quotation, which when a child I got out of Lilly's Grammar, "Creſcit amor nummi, quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit;" and then changing nummus for libertas, "Creſcit amor libertatis, quantum ipſa libertas creſcit."

"'Tis very well, Monſieur," ſaid he; "and to carry on your alluſion, may we not ſay, that they who do not know when they have enough, are as dangerouſly wrong in the one caſe, as thoſe who ſay we have too much, are in the other? The Engliſh complaining of the want of liberty, reminds me of the coffee-houſe orator's ſtory of Caſſem, who, wallowing in wealth, loſt it all in the wild purſuit of more.—I hope however that they never will, like him, loſe their ſtock in vain endeavours to increaſe it."

LETTER XXXV.

WHILE I was, in the manner I have already mentioned, endeavouring to paſs away the time as cheerfully as poſſible, till a caravan was formed, or Company's diſpatches were coming over land, of which I might avail myſelf; I found my ſituation in the houſe

houſe of Mr. ——— growing extremely critical. That gentleman, of whoſe good ſenſe, and truly excellent diſpoſition, I had too manifold proofs to call them in queſtion, had, though fallen into the vale of years, married his Lady at a very tender age. She was then young, beautiful, full of ſenſibility, and gifted with ſuch natural endowments both of mind and perſon, accompanied with all thoſe accompliſhments which helped to dreſs them to advantage, that ſhe might well be acquitted of vanity, even though fancy ſuggeſted to her ſhe was fit to grace and confer happineſs on a younger bed; while reflection on the obvious diſparity of the match (which the cool temper of ſatiety poſſibly ſuggeſted to him) might perhaps have alarmed his mind to circumſtances of probable danger, that, before wedlock, were all hid behind the deceptive veil of paſſion. Whether theſe were the private ſentiments that influenced both or either of them, I cannot preſume to determine, though I think it probable: for I was not long in the houſe till I plainly perceived they were on a very bad footing with each other, and in ſhort that diſagreement was become habitual to them. At firſt, that is to ſay, for a few days after my becoming an inmate of their houſe, decency enforced concealment, and the ebullitions of peeviſhneſs were ſtifled by the dictates of prudence: but the animoſities of the connubial ſtate are thoſe which of all others are the moſt impatient under controul; and as time, by producing familiarity, relaxed reſtraint, the pent-up paſſions began to force their way, and open bikering took place in my preſence.

It is but barely doing juſtice to myſelf to ſay, that I felt the moſt poignant concern at ſeeing a couple, each ſo perfectly amiable in all other reſpects, blaſting the hours that ſhould be given to harmony and love, in jarring, reproach, and recrimination; and I would have given all I was worth that I had never had occaſion to eſteem them ſo much, or that I could give them that peace which ſeemed to have flown them for ever. Fain would I caſt a veil over the whole ranſaction; fain would I bury it, even from myſelf, in oblivion: but it has been made by my enemies the ſubject of triumphant ſlander; and to do juſtice to myſelf, and diſclaim the extent of guilt which they would impute to me, I am reluctantly obliged to avow the ſhare I had, and declare how the matter really ſtood. I muſt ſpeak the truth, and hope you will not conceive that I deſignedly lean too heavily upon any one, to eaſe myſelf of my ſhare of the load.

Whatever domeſtic uneaſineſs may ſubſiſt between a married pair, the man, if prudent, will endeavour to conceal it; and the woman, if truly virtuous, will take care to do ſo: ſhould great diſparity of age (as in the preſent inſtance) be the caſe, the Lady is more particularly bound to conceal any uneaſineſs, leſt it ſhould be attributed to that cauſe which people are in ſuch caſes too prone to ſuſpect, diſlike to her huſband; and before young men, above all, ſhe ſhould be moſt exemplary, as ſhe muſt well know that their natural vanity, combined with the leading idea of her averſion and infidelity to her huſband, ſuggeſt ideas to them from whence their warm imaginations

draw

draw inferences of a nature too pleaſing to be parted with, and too probable not to be put in practice, or at leaſt attempted. Here then a woman at once lays herſelf fairly open to the aſſaults of illicit love. I think it will not be denied, that the woman who promulgates the diſagreements between her and her huſband, particularly if ſhe ſuffers a young man to be privy to it, is either extremely ignorant, or intentionally vicious, or both.

That the Lady I allude to may in ſome reſpect be acquitted of this imputation, I muſt tell you, that ſhe was only eighteen years of age; her tender, inexperienced mind had not yet arrived to that maturity which gives ſound judgment; and though of good natural talents, highly cultivated (for ſhe ſpoke fluently Engliſh, French, Italian, Arabic, Perſian, and the Greek and Turkiſh languages), ſhe yet was ſimple, innocent, uninformed in the ways of the world, and incapable of reaſoning from cauſes up to conſequences. But unfortunately that ſimplicity is attended with as much miſchief, though not guilt, as the wilful miſconduct of the more experienced; it has the ſame baleful effects with the hearers, inſpires the ſame confidence, emboldens with the ſame hopes, and leads to the ſame pernicious practices.

I have already mentioned, and will now remind you, that I was then young. Perhaps it was owing to a congeniality pointed out by our age, perhaps to a compaſſionate politeneſs amounting to tenderneſs, which I always diſcloſed on thoſe unhappy occaſions, joined

perhaps to the ardent look of youth kindled by the imaginations to which this imprudent conduct inſenſibly gave birth, that the Lady thought proper to take the very hazardous ſtep of making a confidant of a young man and a ſoldier—and revealing to me the whole tale of her grievances, with a pathetic eloquence, that would have made an impreſſion upon a much leſs ſuſceptible heart than mine. I declare it moſt ſolemnly, that though this extraordinary mark of confidence and eſteem communicated to my heart ſtrong ſenſations of unjuſtifiable pleaſure; I ſo far got the better of myſelf at firſt, as to receive the whole with the ſame appearance of tranquillity, as if I had been only a confidential female friend. I pitied, it is true;—I expreſſed my pity;—I adviſed, not treacherouſly but faithfully;—I ſaid ſuch things as occurred to me to be moſt likely to aſſuage and extinguiſh the flame of diſcord, and lead to an amicable adjuſtment; and I parted for that time with her to go to a ſelf-approving pillow, where, while my fancy was inflamed and tickled by the flattering mark of regard ſhewn me by ſo all-accompliſhed a perſon, I had the ſoothing delightful conſciouſneſs of having, as far as I was able, done my duty, and eſcaped the corroding reflection of having violated the rights of hoſpitality.

Not an opportunity however afterwards offered, that the ſame unhappy point was not the ſubject of diſcuſſion, and unfortunately thoſe opportunities but too frequently occurred; till at length we began to feel that they were the ſweeteſt minutes of our lives, and

were ſought for with induſtrious avidity by both of us. No human reſolution was ſufficient to withſtand ſuch an unlucky concurrence of circumſtances: from lamenting the grievances, we wiſhed to remove them, from wiſhing we proceeded to conſider the means, and when we had got that length, the flight was not far to the extreme end —the execution of it. My paſſions hurried me before them, my expreſſions grew gradually more and more unguarded, our converſation became more intereſting and warm; and though I felt and ſtruggled to be guided by the ſtrict principles of honour, and formed a thouſand reſolutions not to tranſgreſs the laws of hoſpitality, by injuring the man who had treated me with ſuch kindneſs, the ſtruggle became too ſevere for me—the deſire of pleaſing a lovely woman, who had repoſed ſuch unbounded confidence in me, and who ſeemed to expect and require of me to alleviate her miſery, at length bore down all the oppoſitions ſuggeſted by reaſon and principle, and I agreed to become the inſtrument of her removal from this unhappy ſituation. We fell—but not intirely. There is one length to which no earthly conſideration—no allurement however dazzling could tempt me—it is now the moſt cordial conſolation to my mind; I never ſuffered myſelf to think of treſpaſſing on the decorum of his houſe, nor did we in any ſingle inſtance carry our intercourſe to a direct violation of his bed. Though the tranſports of youthful paſſion hurried us into converſations and reflections on the ſubject of her determination to be ſeparated from her huſband, yet that paſſion was of too delicate

a kind

a kind to ſink into the brutal ſordid indulgence of diſhonourable ſtolen embraces. She wiſhed for that ſeparation, rather as a ſubterfuge from inceſſant diurnal miſery, than as a prelude to any vicious or illicit enjoyment; and we looked with pleaſure to the event, but we looked no further.

It is thus that, in the down-hill path of vice, we are hurried on ſtep by ſtep, fondly imagining that each ſucceſſive object, which bounds our ſight, will ſtop our headlong career; while alas! every ſtep we advance gives additional rapidity to our deſcent: like the centripetal force of a projectile, our pace increaſes with uniformly accelerated motion—till diſdaining all controul, and breaking down every impediment that reaſon, morality, or honour throw in the way to reſcue us or retard our ruin, we precipitate unexpectedly into the laſt gulph of vice and infamy.

Fortunately, however, an accident intervened in the preſent caſe, which arreſted our progreſs down this hideous deſcent, and reſerved us both I hope to conviction of our folly, and repentance of our error. And I have the conſolation to reflect, that out of ſuch a hoſt of dangers and temptations as I was beſet with, I have eſcaped without the actual perpetration of a deed, which would, had it happened, in all probability have embittered my life.

While we hugged ourſelves in the ſecurity and ſecrecy of expreſſing our genuine ſentiments, her huſband diſcovered our wiſhes, and all at once took the neceſſary meaſures for preventing them. So

that,

that, overwhelmed with grief and ſhame, I directly formed the reſolution to leave Aleppo, and proceed in the beſt manner I could on my deſtination.

Thus you ſee, my dear Frederick, was your father, by failing to reſiſt the firſt impreſſions of an unlawful and diſhonourable paſſion, inſenſibly led to the very brink of a precipice, the bare remembrance of which now makes him ſhudder with horror. The ſtory, by means unneceſſary for me to mention, took wind. The folly of ſome, the malice of others, and the unaccountable propenſity to falſehood of more, trumpeted it about with many exaggerations to my injury, and I was held up as the deliberate ſeducer of innocence: but the whole tranſaction is exactly as I have ſtated it; and the diſagreements previous to my arrival at Aleppo, which, in telling the ſtory, they purpoſely left out, were of ſuch public notoriety, that every European, even the Conſul himſelf, was fully acquainted with them. This is the conſequence of a deviation from the ſtrict rule of right. Treaſure it up in your mind, my child, never to be forgotten; and let it operate as a caution to you, how you entangle yourſelf in the ſnares of women: recollect that my eſcape was ſingularly fortunate, and the mere effect of accident; and flatter not yourſelf, that becauſe accident ſerved in one caſe, it will in another. Providence has, for the wiſeſt of purpoſes, implanted in our nature a fondneſs for the fair ſex; and ſo long as it is uſed prudently and virtuouſly, it conſtitutes the firſt happineſs of life; but if on the contrary, it ſtimulates us to

exceſs, impels to injure our fellow-creature, or break in upon the repoſe of a family; it is our reproach, our ſhame, our curſe, and very frequently our utter and irremediable ruin; add to this, that there is in the general character of women, a capriciouſneſs, a levity, and a vanity, under the influence of which they ſport with men, only to diſplay their power, and evince the force of their charms, which makes the cultivation of their good graces in any way hazardous. To adopt the idea of an old epigram—"There is no living with them, nor without them."

As your happineſs, my dear boy, is the firſt object of my life, my efforts ſhall be turned to the guiding of your greener years from any premature impreſſions; and when reaſon and matured age fit you for the cultivation and enjoyment of female ſociety, be it mine to direct your ſteps away from that claſs, who think rank a ſufficient ſanction for vice, who flare in all the bronze of ariſtocratic aſſurance, under a load of obloquy, beneath which the pooreſt peaſant's wife would ſink; who think that wealth and rank confer a right to commit exceſſes that would degrade the meaneſt of the canaille; and felicitate themſelves with the reflection, that, under the protection of family or an infamous huſband, they may indulge in enormities, for which the loweſt of their ſex are beating hemp in Bridewell.

LETTER XXXVI.

THE diſcovery to which I alluded in my laſt letter, ſurpriſed and grieved me very much; and indeed it aſtoniſhed me the more, from the manner in which it was communicated.

One day I received a polite meſſage from the Britiſh Conſul, ſaying, he wiſhed to ſpeak to me as ſoon as poſſible, upon a buſineſs of great conſequence. I thought at firſt, that it might be ſome plan for my proceeding on my journey—perhaps Company's diſpatches that had arrived to go over land; and at intervals, ſomething like apprehenſions of the true motive of his ſending for me flew acroſs my mind. I however went to him, when, after ſome little introductory converſation, he told me, that my hoſt Mr. ——— had been with him that morning, laying before him a complaint of a moſt extraordinary and ſerious nature, of which, as it immediately concerned me, he thought himſelf bound to inform me, in order that I might either contradict ſo groſs a calumny if it were untrue, or find means to avoid the obviouſly neceſſary reſult if founded in fact.

He then proceeded to relate to me, that Mr. ——— had informed him of a conſpiracy having been meditated againſt his peace and honour, between his wife and the Engliſh gentleman whom he had

entertained in his houſe; that their plan was nothing leſs than an elopement, and that he did not know how ſoon it might be carried into execution, if not timely prevented; and finally, that he had demanded the aſſiſtance of the Conſul and his intereſt with the Turkiſh magiſtrate to prevent it, by granting him an armed force for the protection of his houſe.

I was much ſurpriſed to find that converſations ſo very guarded as ours were diſcovered, and more ſo that the aggrieved perſon did not think proper to ſpeak to myſelf, and charge me in perſon with the offence; never reflecting the while, that all my ideas were military, and his merely commercial: I was alſo much at a loſs to conjecture how he came to make the diſcovery—but this I found afterwards he owed to a female ſervant, who had been improvidently intruſted by her miſtreſs with the ſecret.

Finding, however, that by whatever means he became acquainted with the affair, it was a certain fact that he was appriſed of it, I directly acknowledged the whole truth with the utmoſt candour to the Conſul; told him the affair ſtep by ſtep as it aroſe, aſſuring him (which I really thought to be the caſe) that pity for the Lady's deplorable ſituation made me liſten to ſuch a meaſure; and that unlawful paſſion had ſo little to do with it, that in all our private conferences we had never tranſgreſſed the limits of purity; and that her perſon was, at leaſt reſpecting me, and I firmly believed all mankind, ſpotleſs and inviolate. I added, that great allowances were to be made for

a young creature barely eighteen years of age, conſigned by the wickedneſs of avaricious parents to the embraces of a man of ſixty-five; who, amiable and worthy though he was, in ſocial intercourſe with the world (which I knew him to be), was yet in the moſt indiſpenſable point of connubial felicity ſo utterly defective, as neceſſarily to create diſguſt and abhorrence in a youthful mind. I remarked to him, that, in the forming of laws, it as plainly appeared on their face, who made them amongſt the Engliſh, as it does on the face of the Gentoo laws, that they were made by the Bramins: for, as by the latter the penalty of a few puns* of couries (not value a ſhilling) is annexed to the perpetration of a crime, for which thoſe of another claſs loſe their lives; ſo, among us, it appears that our laws are made by the aged, the decrepid, the ſenſual, and the rich. Elſe it could never happen that there were in the ſame code, laws to puniſh marriage between the young and vigorous, and enable the brutality of a parent to take its full ſcope, and conſign, as in the preſent inſtance, youth, beauty, health, and every perſonal attraction, to the arms of age, infirmity, and impotence. And I concluded by ſaying, that all parties aiding in ſuch an unnatural confederacy ſhould be puniſhed.

The Conſul fairly acknowledged there was too much truth in what I had ſaid; but remarked withal, that it was rather a hazardous

* Couries, a kind of ſmall ſhells uſed in India, as a circulating medium in place of coin, in value much below the ſmalleſt copper coin—a Pun is a certain number of them.

experiment,

experiment, and he was ſure it would be an endleſs one, to correct all the abuſes to which the fallibility of man, and his incompetency to form any thing perfect, neceſſarily left ſociety and their laws liable —that the law was written, and it was the duty of every individual to obey it – and that in caſes of adultery, the offence could be juſtified on no ſolid grounds whatever, for, independent of the feelings of the huſband, which perhaps were more poignant in old age than youth, the injury to his family was not to be got over, in probably giving to him an heir no way akin to him. "It would be right I think," ſaid he, "to ſtop ſuch diſproportionate matches; yet, once made, they ſhould be as religiouſly obſerved inviolate as thoſe of love, among which we almoſt as frequently, as in thoſe of compulſion, ſee inſtances of infidelity. If you doubt this," ſaid he, "read the records of Doctors' Commons."

I agreed to the juſtice of what he ſaid, at the ſame time aſſured him, that my intentions went no farther than wiſhing the Lady to be reſcued from her thraldom, which I told him was dreadful.— "I am ſure," ſaid the Conſul, "that Mr. Campbell thinks ſo, becauſe I am convinced he would not otherwiſe ſay ſo. But may not," ſaid he, ſmiling, "may not Mr. C. have deceived himſelf? theſe are things in which the paſſions are ſtrangely apt to hoodwink the underſtanding. However," continued he, breaking off pleaſantly, "I muſt give you all the comfort that truth will allow me to do: I am ſure that the poor Lady is condemned to great wretchedneſs;

partly

partly from my own obſervation, partly from public report, and partly from her own mouth: for you muſt know ſhe has ſeveral times complained to me of her huſband's peeviſhneſs and tyranny; and even beſought me to uſe my influence and authority to relieve her from her miſery. Mr. ———," continued he, "is a man whom on all other accounts I eſteem, and value highly. In this inſtance he has erred, and I cannot pity him, even though he ſuffers all the torments of jealouſy: and as there are laws for puniſhing with death premature intercourſe with the ſex, I cannot ſee, any more than you, why the ſacrificing youth to extreme old age ſhould not be equally puniſhed, for I am ſure it is equally unnatural, and ſtill more injurious to a State. Theſe are my ſentiments," continued he; "but let not this declaration induce you to think that I the leſs diſapprove of your intermeddling. You have allowed me the privilege of a friend, and I will not ſuffer it to be made an empty one. You were more culpable than many young men would be; firſt, becauſe you are married, and ſhould, upon the common principle of doing as you would be done by, have refrained; and next, becauſe you were enjoying the ſweets of hoſpitality in his houſe, and ſhould have daſhed from his lips, rather than held to them, the deepeſt cup of bitterneſs."

"But, my dear ſir," ſaid I, "I do not attempt to juſtify—I only endeavour to mitigate the matter, and you will recollect that the very circumſtance which in one point of view aggravates, in another alleviates

alleviates the fault: the living in his houſe afforded thoſe interviews, and expoſed me to thoſe temptations under which I was near ſinking —I ſhould never have ſought them: but he muſt be more or leſs than man, that could have reſiſted them; and though I have a high ſenſe of Mr. Conſul's ſtrict honour and virtue, as well as prudence, he muſt excuſe me, though I doubt whether he could himſelf have reſiſted ſo long and ſo effectually as I did. I am ſure there are many who will cenſure, that could not."

The Conſul ſmiled, and, turning the diſcourſe from its direct line, obſerved, that it was abſolutely neceſſary I ſhould deſiſt, elſe he would be obliged to uſe his influence and power to protect Mr. ———.

In anſwer to this, I gave him my honour in the firſt place, that I would proceed no farther in the buſineſs; and that, on the contrary, I was determined to ſet out upon my journey to India directly, if means could be contrived for my conveyance; adding, that I ſhould conſider it as a great favour, in addition to thoſe I had already received at his hands, if he would contrive ſome means to ſet me forward in my route.

To this he anſwered, that as the making up of a caravan would be extravagantly expenſive, he knew no means that were not attended with certain hardſhip and eventual danger; but finding me determined at almoſt any danger or hazard to ſet off, he propoſed to ſend for a man who knew every reſource in that way, and when he came would talk farther on the buſineſs; and in the mean time, recommended

mended great circumſpection to me while I continued at Mr. ———'s houſe, to which I very ſolemnly pledged my word.

Being now conſtrained by every conſideration, as well of prudence and decency as of inclination, to leave Aleppo immediately: I determined that no common impediments ſhould ſtop me, and waited with impatience the arrival of the perſon on whom the Conſul reſted his hopes of diſpatching me.

He came in the evening, and after a conference with the Conſul, he introduced him to me, and acquainted me that he was a Tartar, and one of the vaſt number of that deſcription who are employed by the Turkiſh State in carrying diſpatches from Court to the various Viceroys and Baſhaws, and interchangably between them again; that they were men on whoſe fidelity the utmoſt reliance could be had; and that this man, who had an excellent character, had agreed to take me to Bagdad, provided I would ſubmit to the diſguiſe of a Tartar.

The agreement between us I entirely ſubmitted to the diſcretion of the Conſul, who had the goodneſs to ſettle it thus:—The Tartar was to deliver me ſafe at Bagdad; to ſupply me and my ſervant, who acted as interpreter, with an ample ſufficiency of proviſions and horſes on the road; to exchange my horſe for me as often as I pleaſed, and to go at ſuch rate, whether faſter or ſlower, as I thought proper: for this he was to receive one hundred pounds; and I further promiſed, as an encouragement to him, that if he acted to my ſatisfac-

 tion,

tion, I would, on our arrival at Bagdad, add a douceur of twenty pounds.

The next day he came, and I had a diſtinct view of this my new fellow traveller and ſuppoſed maſter, for in ſeveral places I was to paſs for his ſlave. He was one of thoſe ſtriking *character* figures that a painter would like to take a ſketch of—and methought Tartar was written legibly in every lineament of his countenance and perſon.—He was tall, muſcular and bony—his figure beſpoke great hardihood, ſtrength and activity—nor could the trowſers which he wore conceal the Herculean texture of his limbs—his ſhoulders were expanded to an enormous breadth—he was unincumbered with fleſh, or indeed rather extremely lean—his forehead, though partly concealed beneath his turban, was very high—his noſe large, hooked, ſharp, and prominent—a pair of ſmall, fierce, black, penetrating eyes, barely ſeparated by the noſe, and a formidable pair of muſtachios, which he carefully ſleeked with pomatum into a point reſembling an awl-blade, and which moved like the whiſkers of a purring cat, with every word he ſpoke, gave a whimſical ferocity to the countenance, beyond the reach of deſcription, and rendered him altogether as diſcouraging a confidential friend, as ever a Chriſtian truſted his life to ſince Mahomet firſt ſet up the trade of a prophet. He ſurveyed me with great attention—opened his mouth two or three times like a gaſping pike, as if to ſpeak—ſtroaked his whiſkers as often—and at laſt pronounced that he would undertake to conduct me; adding, in

alluſion

alluſion to my black hair and dark complexion, that I looked more like a native, than any Frank he had ever ſeen. He ordered me to cut my hair quite ſhort, to provide myſelf with a Tartar dreſs and cap, in the faſhion of his own; and ſaying he would call on me in proper time, departed.

Thus equipped, we ſet out, not without great pain and regret on my part; pain at leaving a moſt beautiful young woman, whom I pitied and eſteemed, ſubject to the reſentment of a huſband, at once jealous from nature, peeviſh from habit, and enraged from her open and unequivocal demonſtrations of hatred; and regret at having been betrayed by ſituation into ſuch a very ſerious dilemma.

After my departure from Aleppo, this affair was repreſented in a variety of unfavourable lights to the different new comers from England; and as a ſtory is that commodity which of all others honeſt people do not love to ſteal any thing from, in its paſſage through their hands, it found its way in various forms (none of them however tending to ſoften it) to many of my friends and connections, thoſe from whom of all others I wiſhed to conceal it. Labouring under ſuch calumnies, it cannot be conſidered as a violation of decorum, or unneceſſary infraction upon delicacy, if I ſtate the truth, in order, though I cannot acquit myſelf of cenſurable conduct, at leaſt not ſilently to ſubmit to unlimited calumny, and charges of crimes which I hope I have too much honour and integrity to commit.

I muſt add, that previous to my departure the Conſul did every

thing that it was poſſible for him to do, conducive to my ſafety and accommodation on the road, which as we were obliged to go to the city of Diarbeker, a great length out of our way, he obſerved would be long, dreary, fatiguing, and hazardous; he procured me from others, and gave me himſelf, a number of letters, and at parting deſired me to comfort myſelf with the reflection, that when I arrived at my journey's end, I ſhould have to boaſt, that I went to India by a route never travelled by any European before.

LETTER XXXVII.

As I became familiariſed to my Tartar guide, I found his character diſcloſe much better traits than his firſt appearance beſpoke, and I began inſenſibly to think him a very entertaining fellow: perceiving that I was very low ſpirited and thoughtful, he exhibited manifeſt marks of compaſſion; and taking it into his head that I was actually removed for ever from my friends and my family, he ſpoke in a ſtyle of regret and feeling, that did great honour to his heart: and to ſay the truth, he did every thing in his power to alleviate my feelings, converſing with me, either by means of the interpreter, or in broken lingua

lingua franca; ſupplying all my wants cheerfully and abundantly; changing horſes with me as often as I pleaſed, and going ſlow or galloping forward juſt as beſt ſuited my inclination or humour.

The firſt object he ſeemed to have in view on our journey, was to impreſs me with a notion of his conſequence and authority, as a meſſenger belonging to the Sultan. As all thoſe men are employed by the firſt magiſtrates in the country, and are, as it were, the links of communication between them, they think themſelves of great importance in the State; while the great men whoſe buſineſs they are employed in, make them feel the weight of authority, and treat them with the greateſt contempt: hence they become habitually ſervile to their ſuperiors, and by natural conſequence inſolent and overbearing to their inferiors, or thoſe who being in their power they conceive to be ſo. As carriers of diſpatches, their power and authority wherever they go is in ſome points undiſputed; and they can compel a ſupply of proviſions, horſes, and attendants, whereever it ſuits their occaſions; nor dare any man reſiſt their right to take the horſe from under him to proceed on the Emperor's buſineſs, be the owner's occaſion ever ſo preſſing.

My feelings, which I can tell you were altogether of the moſt unpleaſant kind, ſerved as a ſtimulus to my mind, and increaſed my anxiety to get forward; I therefore puſhed on as faſt as the horſes, which were in general excellent, could carry me: and as we halted at a number of ſtages to get freſh horſes and proviſions, my Tartar

guide

guide had frequent opportunities of indulging his ſelf-importance, and diſplaying his great authority and power. As ſoon as he ſtopped at a caravanſera, he immediately called luſtily about him in the name of the Sultan, demanding with an imperious and menacing tone of voice, freſh horſes, victuals, &c, on the inſtant. The terror of this great man operated like magic; nothing could exceed the activity of the men, the briſkneſs of the women, and the terror of the children; for the caravanſeras are continually attended by numbers of the very loweſt claſſes of the people; but no quickneſs of preparation, no effort or induſtry could ſatisfy my gentleman; he would ſhew me his power in a ſtill more ſtriking point of view, and fall belabouring them with his whip, and kicking them with all his might. I muſt confeſs I was much hurt at this extravagant abuſe of upſtart power, and was two or three times on the point of interfering; but fortunately, recollected that it would neither be in character, nor have any good effect, and that if I preſumed to ſpeak, my guide would be obliged in my defence to give me a flogging in order to prevent ſuſpicion.

This inconſiderate tyranny and cruelty, I had afterwards reaſon to believe, was by no means a part of his natural diſpoſition; but vanity, to which ſo many among us in Europe fall victims, urged him to exceſſes, which I dare ſay his heart privately condemned.

It was on the fifth or ſixth day (I cannot preciſely ſay which) after our leaving Aleppo, that we got to the city of Diarbeker, the capital of the province of that name, having paſſed over an extent of

country of between three and four hundred miles, moſt of it bleſſed with the greateſt fertility, producing, in the few cultivated parts, grain, fruits of various kinds, and ſilk in great variety and abundance, and abounding with as rich paſtures as I ever beheld, covered with numerous herds and flocks. The air was charmingly temperate in the day-time, but, to my feeling, extremely cold at night.

Yet notwithſtanding the extreme fertility of this country, the bad adminiſtration of government, conſpiring with the indolence of the inhabitants, leaves it unpopulous and uncultivated. Diarbeker, proper, called alſo Meſopotamia, from its lying between the two famous rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and by Moſes called PADAN ARAM, that is to ſay—"The fruitful Syria;" abounds with corn, wine, oil, fruits, and all the neceſſaries of life. It is ſuppoſed to be the ſeat of the Earthly Paradiſe, and all Geographers agree that it was there the deſcendants of Noah firſt ſettled after the flood.

Inſignificant as thoſe circumſtances may appear to mere calculators of profit and loſs, it cannot be denied that they have a powerful and pleaſing effect on the refined imagination. To be treading that ground where Abraham trod; where Nahor the father of Rebecca lived; and where Laban, to whom Jacob fled to avoid his brother Eſau's reſentment, and whom he ſerved fourteen years for the love he bore to Rachel, was to me a circumſtance productive of delightful ſenſations. How finely has that Giant of the Pen, Johnſon, juſtified thoſe ſenſations in his Tour to the Highlands of Scotland and

Weſtern

Weſtern Iſlands;—deſcribing his emotions on viſiting the famous Iſland of Iona, or Colombkill, he ſays—"We were now treading "that illuſtrious Iſland which was once the luminary of the Caledo- "nian regions, whence ſavage clans and roving barbarians derived "the benefits of knowledge, and bleſſings of religion. To abſtract "the mind from all local emotion, would be impoſſible if it were "endeavoured, and would be fooliſh if it were poſſible. Whatever "withdraws us from the power of our ſenſes—whatever makes the "paſt, the diſtant, or the future, predominate over the preſent, ad- "vances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and "from my friends, be ſuch frigid philoſophy, as may conduct us in- "different and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified "by wiſdom, bravery, or virtue!—that man is little to be envied "whoſe patriotiſm would not gain force upon the Plain of Marathon, "or whoſe piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of "Iona."

The city of Diarbeker itſelf is ſituated in a delightful plain on the banks of the river Tigris, and nearly at its head; it is one of the richeſt, moſt trading, ſtrong, and populous cities in Aſiatic Turkey; and is adorned with many piazzas and market places in the Turkiſh ſtyle, and a large magnificent Moſque, formerly a Chriſtian church; for Chriſtianity flouriſhed over this country ſo late as the ſixth century. There is even now a ſect, whoſe Patriarch ſtill reſides here: and they ſhew on the road near the town, a chapel where

where the holy man Job is ſaid to be buried. This city is ſupplied amply with water by a canal cut from the Tigris, and has many caravanſeras on both ſides of the river.

Few countries in the world exceed that about this city for natural richneſs and beauty:—the bread and wine are excellent—the fruit beyond conception delicious—and my friend the Tartar took care, under pretence of ſupercilious *hauteur*, to tear in pieces a couple of fowls, and hand to me now a leg, now a wing, till I made the moſt delicious repaſt I ever remember to have eat in my life.

It is computed that there are reſident in this city no leſs than twenty thouſand Chriſtian inhabitants, ſome of whom are of the Church of Rome;—and perhaps it is owing to that mixture, that the fair ſex have more freedom, and the men more politeneſs and affability, than thoſe of any other city in the empire:—the chief buſineſs there, is making that fine leather commonly called Turkey leather.

Figure to yourſelf, my dear FREDERICK, my Tartar guide, who was an admirable actor, ſitting at a caravanſera in ſtate at his dinner, devouring excellent fowls, choice pillaws, and delicious fruit, in as great pomp as a Baſhaw; and in order to keep up the ſemblance of authority over me, to favour my diſguiſe, handing to me, who ſat at humble diſtance, a part of his proviſions.—You may form to yourſelf an idea of the ſcene; but all the efforts of imagination muſt fall ſhort of the manner, the figure, the words, the looks, and the

actions of the Tartar; ſometimes affecting contemptuous pity, ſometimes ſupercilious arrogance; ſometimes brutal ſternneſs, and ſometimes the gentle blandiſhments of conſcious ſuperiority; and all in ſuch a maſterly ſtyle of performance, that I doubt whether Garrick himſelf, with all his powers of countenance, could outdo him. Critical though my ſituation was, and much as I was haraſſed with the corroſions of mental pain, the extravagant action and ludicrous pompoſity of this man frequently overbore my prudence, and compelled me to laugh incontinently and loudly;—on all ſuch occaſions he would put his hands a-kimbo, draw up his eye-brows to his turban, ſcrew down the corners of his mouth in the moſt rueful manner, and give a loud whew! with his eyes fixed in a ſtare at me, till entirely overcome with laughter, and ready to ſink under it, I clapped my face between my hands, and, as well as I could, bowed in token of ſorrow and ſubmiſſion; when threatening me vehemently, and at the ſame time uttering a lamentable expreſſion of doubt that he was afraid he had had an idiot impoſed on him, he would buſtle about, direct the horſes to be got ready, and order me to get on horſeback, with many denunciations of ſevere treatment, and a thouſand flouriſhes of his whip over my head.

As I have rode along muſing upon the contemptible ſtratagems to which I was reduced, in order to get through this country, for no other reaſon but becauſe I was a Chriſtian, I could not help reflecting with ſorrow on the melancholy effects of ſuperſtition, and regretting

regretting that that place, which in the times of primitive ſimplicity was called the Terreſtrial Paradiſe; that place where GOD firſt planted Man after the Flood; where the god-like Abraham and the holy Job breathed the pure air of piety and ſimplicity; that place which from all thoſe circumſtances ought to be conſidered above all others as the univerſal inheritance of mankind, ſhould now be cut off from all but a horde of ſenſeleſs bigots, barbarous fanatics, and inflexible tyrants. And I could not help conſidering with melancholy concern, the blindneſs and infatuation of men, who, leſs earneſt to accommodate themſelves than injure others, ſhut out their fellow-creatures from that which they themſelves will not uſe, and, while they ſuffer millions of the richeſt acres in the univerſe to be untilled, and ſpend their ſweetneſs in the deſert air, with wicked jealouſy, and envy more than diabolical, begrudge to others the little ſpot on which they ſtand, and chaſe them as they would a ravening tiger from their country.

LETTER XXXVIII.

As we advanced towards the ſouthward and eaſtward, in our way from Diarbeker towards Bagdad, I found the air became ſenſibly warmer, and obſerved that the diſpoſition of the people grew more and more brutal. My guide's conduct (for he knew them well) became proportionately artful, and my manners were of courſe to grow ſo much the humbler. I obſerved, however, that his authority continued the ſame, and that he ſeemed to exert it with greater rigour; not in ſeverity or chaſtiſement, but in exacting implicit obedience. Yet ſtill he evidently acted with great caution and circumſpection; for, in ſome diſtricts, he either avoided the little villages by a circuitous route, or daſhed through them at a very quick pace, while the gaping multitude conſidered us as on a diſpatch of haſte and importance—in others, he entered the towns without reſerve, and left it to chance to decide whether we ſhould be diſcovered or not. At ſome caravanſeras he treated me with affected negligence, at others he made me eat with him and drink wine, of which, in ſome places, he himſelf drank copiouſly, and at others as ſcrupulouſly refrained from.

from. And ſometimes we lay at night out in the open air, rather than enter a town; on which occaſions I found the weather a piercing cold as it was diſtreſsfully hot in the day time. Bred, as the man was, a mixture of ſlave and tyrant, I can ſuppoſe ſome parts of this conduct to ariſe from caprice; but as he was naturally kind, as many of thoſe aberrations from the uſual mode of travelling were attended with hardſhip and inconvenience to himſelf, and as my ſervant and the other Tartar were clearly of opinion he was right, I am rather diſpoſed to believe that he, on the whole, acted from principles of ſound ſenſe and policy.

He frequently adviſed me againſt indulging in laughter; ſaid it was unmanly, indecorous, inconſiſtent with the gravity becoming a wiſe man, and withal dangerous.

One evening we came to a caravanſera much fatigued, the day being extremely hot, and we having rode very hard—whether it was caprice or fatigue, or the ſuggeſtion of policy that moved him, I cannot ſay, but he certainly was more diſpoſed to play the tyrant than I had ever before ſeen him. He flogged the men who took the horſes, kicked every one he met, made the houſe ring with his enormous voice; directed ſupper to be got ready, ate growling, and finding fault with every thing; and under pretence of diſliking the ingredients of an excellent pillaw, handed it over to me, ſaying, Here, Jimmél (the name he called me), here, take this filth, and cram it down thy coarſe throat, it is only fit for a Frank—I took it with the

beſt

beſt air of humility I could aſſume; and tearing the meat with my fingers, which I alſo uſed inſtead of a ſpoon to eat the rice, ſwallowed it eagerly; he watching me all the time attentively. When I had finiſhed it, I gave him a hint in the Frank language, that I ſhould like to waſh it down with ſome wine; but he did not, or rather would not, underſtand me.

Supper done, he ordered a ſervant to attend him with ſome water, and directed him to waſh his feet; while that operation was performing, he continued menacing every one about him. My ſervant, who ſat next me and behind him, interpreted every thing he ſaid. "Yes, ye ſlaves," ſaid he, as he lolled back upon his cuſhion, "yes, I will make the beſt of you waſh my feet; for who ſhall refuſe to waſh the feet of him, who repreſents the Sultan of the World, the Son of Mahomet, the Meſſenger of the Lord?" The poor fellow proceeded in his humble office, and only interrupted him by ſaying, "Bleſſed be my Lord the Sultan, and glory be to the Lord our God, and Mahomet his Prophet."—"Yes, yes," continued my Tartar, "bleſs God and the Prophet, and pray for his ſervant our Sultan, and all who repreſent him like me, that ſlaves of your deſcription are permitted to live: nay, thou ſhalt waſh this Frank's feet:" then, turning to me with an air of magiſterial tenderneſs, "Jimmel," ſaid he, "hold forth thy feet, and let them be waſhed by this diſciple of Ali—I ſay, hold forth thy feet."

Scarcely able to refrain from laughter at this Bombardinian of the

the Eaſt, and his pompous manner of iſſuing his orders, I drew up my trowſers and took off my boots—the man brought freſh water, and fell to rubbing my feet with great good will and humility; yet evidently felt ſo much hurt at the humiliation, that I was ſorry for it, and would rather have diſpenſed with the waſhing, though it was a luxury.

In the midſt of this operation, the Tartar, who was reclining on his cuſhion, ſmoking, roſe up, and ſtalking two or three times acroſs the room, with the moſt ludicrous air of ſelf-conceit and importance, took his tobacco pipe from his mouth, brandiſhed it in oſtentatious parade, and in the tone and manner rather of one that was raving than of a man in his ſober ſenſes, burſt out with an emphatical expreſſion of ſatisfaction, and ſaid, "This it is to be protected by a great man: Muſſulmen ſalam to him and waſh his feet."

The extravagance of this ſentiment, the abſurdity of its application, and the conſequential ſolemnity of his action and countenance while he ſpoke, altogether ruſhed upon me with ſuch impetuous force, that I could not reſiſt it, and, in ſpite of every effort to reſtrain myſelf, burſt into an immoderate fit of laughter.

Had I the pencil of Hogarth, the pen of Shakeſpeare, or the powers of a Garrick, I might attempt to give ſome idea of his countenance, when, turning, he beheld me convulſed with laughter. I might attempt it, I ſay, but I could not do it juſtice. Such a combination of ludicrous expreſſion I never beheld; it was indeed an

epitome of all the lower order of human paſſions. Fury predominated, but it was riſible fury—it was fury that rather grinned than frowned; though under it were to be ſeen ſhame and mortification, ſorrow and reſentment, pride and degradation, ſilly baſhfulneſs and decayed importance. For ſome time he ſtood transfixed to the ſpot, his eyes gliſtening like thoſe of a rat in a trap; his pointed whiſkers moving with the contortions of his lips, and his mouth every now and then opening like the beak of a wounded hawk. To utter his ſenſations he was unable; and he continued in this ſtate, not only till my laughter was abated, but till I had time to reflect and be ſeriouſly concerned.

At length, without ſaying a ſentence, he wheeled about, threw off his ſlippers, drew on his boots, vociferated till he brought all the people of the caravanſera about him, and ordered horſes to be ready inſtantly. As orders from ſuch a perſon were not likely to be diſobeyed, the horſes were got ready. I ſaw that I muſt either proceed, or come to an open rupture with him; ſo recollecting that I was myſelf in fault, that a diſpute might be fatal, and that at all events it was only the humour of the moment, I drew on my boots too, and was ready to go, though I was much fitter for a twelve hours' nap than for an hour's travelling on horſeback.

We mounted immediately, and it was my good fortune to have the beſt horſe. He ſet out upon the gallop, the moon ſhining as bright almoſt as day; I put forward my horſe, and kept rather before him,

him, which vexed him ſo, that he beat the poor animal he rode on moſt unmercifully. At length, after about eight or ten miles riding, he called a halt, diſmounted, and ſaid he would reſt there all night. I ſaw it was all reſentment: but knowing that it would be in vain to remonſtrate, I diſmounted too; and, judging that the beſt way to mortify him in return, was to comply with affected approbation, turned to my ſervant and told him (knowing that it would go from him to the Tartar) that I was delighted with the beauty of the night; remarking at the ſame time, that lying in the ſweet ſalubrious air was far preferable to being confined in the ſultry filth of a caravanſera.

As ſoon as this was communicated to the Tartar, he remarked, that the open air was the fitteſt place for the beaſts of the foreſt, and therefore ſuitable to a Frank; but for his part, he would much rather repoſe on a cuſhion, which he ſhould have done, had it not been for my accurſed riſible faculties.

Here the converſation reſted, and we fell aſleep. In a few hours he awoke us, and we ſet forward: after ſome pauſe, he began in the following manner, which was interpreted to me, as he ſpoke, by my ſervant:

" Surely God made laughter for the deriſion and ſhame of mankind, and gave it to the Franks and the monkies; for the one ha, ha, ha's, and the other he, he, he's, and both are malicious,

 miſchievous,

miſchievous, and good for nothing but to fret and tantalize all that come acroſs them."

Here he pauſed, as waiting for ſomething to be ſaid: however, I remained ſilent. At length, he continued: "Not but that, with all their laughter, they have the wiſdom to take ſpecial care of themſelves; for half a dozen monkies will he, he, he, and empty a whole orchard of its fruit in the reckoning of a hundred; and a Frank will ha, ha, ha, and eat you up pillaws and poultry like a wolf, and drink up wine with the ſame moderation that a camel drinks up water."

I thought I ſhould have choked with ſmothered laughter: I would not however interrupt him, and ſo contrived to keep it to myſelf: he proceeded to apothegmatiſe:

"But with all their he, he, he's, and ha, ha, ha's, it ſometimes turns out that they are caught: the monkey is ſeized in a trap, and caged or knocked in the head, and the Frank is put in jail, and baſtinadoed or hanged; and then the tune is changed, and it is Oh, ho, ho!" Here he began to mimic crying ſo admirably, and at the ſame time ſo ridiculouſly, that I burſt out laughing again.

"Obſerve, Jimmel," ſaid he haſtily, "obſerve! you can't refrain! But by our holy Prophet," ſaid he ſeriouſly, "it may end as I ſaid: ſo look to yourſelf, and avoid laughter in caravanſeras, or we part; for there are places, and that was one of them laſt night, where ſuſpicion would ruin you. And if you loſt your life, what ſhould I ſay

for

for myſelf on my return to Aleppo? Eh, what ſhould I ſay for myſelf? Ha, ha, ha! would not do. No, no, they would not believe it, and I ſhould loſe my character."

"Why, don't you laugh yourſelf?" ſaid I.

"Very ſeldom, or rather never," returned he; "at leaſt I would not in time of danger. No, no, none but Chriſtians and monkies make a practice of laughing—Turks and Tartars are wiſer." I promiſed him, that I would in future take more care; and, by way of appeaſing him with a little flattery, ſaid, that he played his part ſo admirably, it was impoſſible to reſiſt the impulſe. But he anſwered, with a grave face, that his action in that caſe was of too ſerious a nature to be made a ſubject of merriment—and adviſed me to believe it ſo.

LETTER XXXIX.

THE ſolicitude of my guide for my ſafety was the earneſtneſs of a man of buſineſs zealous to diſcharge with the utmoſt punctuality the duty he had undertaken; and I muſt obſerve to you, that the whole of his conduct evinced a preciſion and punc-

tuality of dealing rarely found in our intercourſe with mankind. Previous to leaving Aleppo, he had undertaken to convey me ſafe—he was, as you may already perceive, indefatigable and unremitting in his endeavours to do ſo; he had promiſed to ſupply me with food—ſo he did, in the moſt ample manner; he promiſed to go as I pleaſed, faſt or ſlow—ſo he did; he promiſed to change horſes with me, as often as I thought proper to deſire—he did ſo. But beyond this, he ſeemed to carry his care of me no farther than to any bale of goods he might have in his charge. He was bound to deliver me ſafe, in good order and condition, at Bagdad: ſo much he was determined to do, and no more did he think of. I had got letters to the Baſhaws of ſome of the towns through which we were to paſs: but as the delivery of a letter is, according to the cuſtom of that country, always accompanied with a preſent, I thought it better to decline delivering them, except when neceſſity compelled—though the ſtate of the country was ſo unſettled, that we often had occaſion for a guard.

As ſoon as the remembrance of the laughing affair was a little decayed, the Tartar began to relax into good humour, and to talk with his uſual vehemence; for he was always, according to the flow of his ſpirits, either ſullenly ſilent or extravagantly loquacious. His tongue might be conſidered as a thermometer, by which the warmth or coldneſs of his temper might be calculated, and the extremes of garrulity and taciturnity were the indices. His converſation, however,

ever, was very circumſcribed, and conſiſted chiefly of ſtories of himſelf and his horſe, the amazing journeys he made, and the feats of manhood he performed. One circumſtance I muſt in juſtice mention, as I think it marks ſtrongly the habitual delicacy and modeſty of this people. Although he frequently lamented my baniſhment from my family, and although we were for eighteen days continually converſing on a variety of occaſions that might lead to the ſubject, he never once talked of women; never, in all his pity for my ſituation, glanced even remotely at the poſſibility of my getting a ſubſtitute in that way; never hinted that he thought of them himſelf. On ſeeing women coming to the wells, they reminded me of ſome of the ſtories in the Old Teſtament. I mentioned it, but it went no farther; for whenever the ſubject was ſtarted, he threw cold water on it.

That he conceived me to be in ſome reſpects a parcel of property, I have good reaſon to believe: for I obſerved that at ſome caravanſeras the people collected round me, and regarded me with ſtrong ſymptoms of ſurpriſe and pity; ſome viewed me with commiſeration, ſome with contempt; but not one creature, however wretched or abject, ſeemed to envy my ſituation.

I was the more confirmed in this opinion by an incident that happened between Diarbeker and Moſul. One morning I was unuſually overcome with the fatigues of the preceding day: the Tartar called me, ſummoned me to horſe; and finding that I gave no anſwer,

nor ſhewed any token of awaking, he lifted me in his arms bodily from my couch (ſuch was his ſtrength that he did it without any difficulty), carried me out without the leaſt ceremony, and, before I was ſo completely awake as to be ſenſible of my ſituation, had me fixed upon a horſe ready to depart.

A tranſaction ſo very ſingular, you may well conclude, ſurpriſed me at the time, and would not readily be forgotten: ſuch a crowd of ſtrange, confuſed, and incongruous thoughts and ſenſations as occurred to me, I never before experienced: they were painful, they were ſurpriſing—but I was in ſuch a ſtate that I could not afterwards analyſe them. The chief reflection that aroſe from it was, that human ſentiment muſt be in a deplorable ſtate of degradation indeed, when ſuch a circumſtance could occur from the notion that a man was as much an aſſet or piece of property, could be transferred by the ſame means, and moved in the ſame unfeeling manner, as any portion of inert matter that makes up a bale of merchandize. Of the truth of this poſition I had ſoon after a melancholy proof, in an incident which, though lamentable, was attended with ſuch ludicrous circumſtances, that even now I never think of it without ſmiling—ſmiling, as I did then, with a heart bleeding with pity.

One morning I was awakened before day-break with a buſtle in the caravanſera where we lodged. I conjectured that the Tartar was preparing to get forward, and roſe in order to loſe no time. I was ſo far right in my conjectures: the horſes were ready, and I came

out to mount, and was very much ſurpriſed to perceive ſeveral horſes before me loaded with ſomething which ſtood erect from their backs, and which I had barely light to diſcern were not men. I concluded that they were bales of merchandize packed in a particular form, and aſked no queſtions till full day-light diſcloſed to me that they were human creatures tied up in ſacks, and faſtened aſtride on the horſes' backs. There was a ſtrange union of horror and oddity in the conception, that ſtruck me at once with a mixed emotion of indignation, pity, and mirth.—The former, however got the better, and I aſked my ſervant with ſome warmth what it meant.—He ſaid that the ſacks contained ſome young women whom the Tartar had bought.—"Good God!" ſaid I, "is it poſſible that he can have bought wretched females to treat them with ſo little tenderneſs?" "He has bought them," returned my ſervant, "in the way of traffic, not for pleaſure."

"Suppoſe he has," ſaid I, "ſuppoſe even they were men, not to mention young women, how can he imagine that they will ſurvive this? Tied up and ſweltered in a ſack—faſtened croſs-legs on a horſe, and driven at ſuch an amazing rate (for by this time we had ſet forward, and another Tartar was whipping the horſes up all the time, and driving them on)—how is it poſſible they can ſurvive? They muſt be ſmothered—they muſt be ſhattered to pieces—they muſt be ſtripped, excoriated, and tortured to death!"

"If I might preſume to adviſe," ſaid he, "I would ſay that you

you had better make no remarks upon it: it would only get them perhaps worſe treated, and raiſe his anger againſt you."

To conclude, I took his advice, and kept my mind to myſelf. The unfortunate women were in this manner carried fifty miles, at the end of which their tender-hearted purchaſer diſpoſed of them in ſome way of keeping till his return; when I ſuppoſe they were to be carried back in ſacks aſtride upon horſes, all the way to Aleppo, there to be ſold to the higheſt bidder.

To us, my FREDERICK, who live in a country where an hour's detention in a houſe againſt our will is puniſhed as unlawful impriſonment, and who feel and value the rich treaſure of liberty above all earthly bleſſings, the bare idea of ſlavery appears horrible; when the miſeries of ſlavery are ſharpened by cruelty, our indignation burns at the offence: but ſuch a complicated piece of enormity as that I have mentioned, almoſt tranſcends belief, and indignation is loſt in amazement. There are but few men, even in our bracing climate, whom fifty miles riding would not ſhake to pieces, and torture almoſt to death. No woman would think of it. But when to that is ſuperadded, firſt the compulſion—then the ſorry and at beſt painful equipage of the horſes—the tender perſons, unaccuſtomed to riding, of the women—the ſmothering heat of the ſack—and above all the horrid climate, burning with an almoſt vertical heat (vertical at leaſt compared with our oblique ſun)—it will be allowed to be a wonder, almoſt approaching to a miracle, that they

ſurvived

ſurvived one half of their journey. The wonder-working hand of Omnipotence alone could bring them through it; and when I aſked in the evening whether they were dying or dead, and was told that they were not only alive but in perfect health, I could not help repeating that moſt beautiful expreſſion put into the mouth of Maria by the inimitable Sterne, "God tempers the wind to the ſide of the ſhorn lamb."

This affair tended to prejudice me ſtrongly againſt my Tartar guide, and I was for ſome time that I could not look upon him without horror: but at length my reſentment abated; and reaſon, reſuming her ſeat of cool deciſion, told me, that though it was a crime and a grievous one, he was not ſo reſponſible for it as thoſe who, knowing better, authoriſed it by their concurrence, gave it the ſanction of law, and made it familiarly practiſed; he only did that which he had been even from his mother's breaſt inſtructed to do, and ſhould therefore not be judged by thoſe rules which a Briton would lay down for the government of ſuch caſes.

A Briton!—Hold! Have I not now been uttering a moſt ſevere ſatire upon the Britiſh Nation? Yes! imputing to men a virtue which they want, is the worſt kind of ſatire—I meant it not at the time, but will not retract what I have written—Britons deſerve the laſh of ſatire! They deſerve a worſe laſh: for the traffic in human bodies ſtill ſtands a bloody brand of infamy on her great National Councils. Their brothers' blood! the blood of millions of murdered Africans,

like that of Abel, cries to Heaven againſt them, and will not, I fear, cry in vain.

Great God!—What a horrible thought!—what an indelible ſtigma! that a Legiſlator ſhall, in the cold blood of commerce, make a calculation of the probable profit upon human lives—put commercial expediency in the balance againſt murder—and make convenience the excuſe for crime!—Why, the robber may do ſo!—But ſhall Britons, generous Britons, who boaſtful claim precedence of the world in freedom, humanity, and juſtice—ſhall they look on and ſee inferior nations ſpurning from them with horror the debaſing traffic; and ſtimulated by avarice, or miſled by wicked policy, retain the blot that other States have wiped away, and live at once the curſe of one part, and the ſcorn of the reſt of mankind?—Forbid it Mercy! Forbid it Heaven!—And oh! may that virtuous man, who, diſdaining the malignant taunts of the baſe and intereſted, boldly ſteps forth the advocate of man and of his country, and ſeſſion after ſeſſion ſprings from the couch of repoſe which opulence preſents him, to break the fetters and the ſcourges which improbity and avarice have forged for our fellow creatures—may he ſucceed and bear down all his oppoſers! and may the juſtice of his country make his triumph and his glory as certain and complete here, as the juſtice of that Being, under whoſe direction he acts, will doubtleſs make them hereafter!

LETTER

LETTER XL.

FROM the conſiderations I have already pretty fully mentioned, my mind was by no means at eaſe. The inceſſant travelling for ſo many days, at the rate of ſeventy-five miles a day, to be continued I knew not how long, increaſed my anxiety: and the apprehenſions of accident, interruption, and above all ſickneſs, intercepting me on my way, haunted my imagination with all its terrors. I was beſides approaching faſt to that region where the winds ſtrike all living things that draw them in inſtantly dead: and conceiving that the more expeditious I was in getting over the journey, the greater chance I had of eſcaping thoſe miſchiefs; I puſhed heartily forward, and urged the Tartar till he at laſt expreſſed his aſtoniſhment and approbation; paid me the compliment to ſay, that I was almoſt equal to himſelf for enduring fatigue; and concluded with a very ſagacious ſurmiſe, that in all probability I had been myſelf a carrier of diſpatches among the Frank Governments.

One day after we had rode about four miles from a caravanſera, at which we had changed our cattle, I found that a moſt execrably

bad horſe had fallen to my lot: he was ſtiff, feeble, and foundered; in conſequence of which he ſtumbled very much, and I every minute expected that he would fall and roll over me. I therefore propoſed to the guide to exchange with me; a favour he had hitherto never refuſed, and for which I was the more anxious, as the beaſt he rode was of the very beſt kind. To my utter aſtoniſhment he peremptorily refuſed: and as this had been a day of unuſual taciturnity on his part, I attributed his refuſal to peeviſhneſs and ill temper, and was reſolved not to let the matter reſt there. I therefore deſired the interpreter to inform him, that as he had at Aleppo agreed to change horſes with me as often as I pleaſed, I ſhould conſider our agreement infringed upon if he did not comply, and would write to the Conſul at Aleppo to that effect.

As ſoon as this was conveyed to him, he ſeemed ſtrongly agitated by anger; yet endeavoured to conceal his emotions under affected contempt and deriſion, which produced from him one of the moſt ſingular grins that ever yet marred the human phyſiognomy. At length he broke forth:

"You will write to Aleppo, will you? Fooliſh Frank! they will not believe you! By Mahomet, it would be well done to hear the complaint of a wandering Frank againſt Haſſan Artaz—Haſſan the faithful and the juſt, who for ten years and more has been the meſſenger of an Emperor, and the friend and confidant of Cadis, Baſhaws, and Viceroys, and never yet was called ſo much as liar! Who, think you,

you, poor miſguided one! who, think you, would believe that I broke my promiſe?"

"Why do you not then," ſaid I, interrupting him, "why do you not perform it by changing horſes, when you are convinced in your conſcience (if you have any) that it was part of your agreement?"—"Once for all I tell you," interrupted he, "I will not give up this horſe. There is not," ſaid he gaſconadingly, "there is not a Muſſulman that ever wore a beard, not to talk of a wretched Frank, that ſhould get this horſe from under me; I would not yield him to the Commander of the Faithful this minute, were he in your place: I would not, I tell you, Frank—and I have my own reaſons for it."

"I dare ſay you have," returned I; "love of your eaſe, and fear of your bones."

At hearing this, he grew quite outrageous—called MAHOMET and ALLA to witneſs that he did not know what it was to fear any thing—declared that he was convinced ſome infernal ſpirit had that day got poſſeſſion of me—and indeed ſeemed well diſpoſed to go to logger-heads. At length obſerving that I looked at him with ſneering contemptuous defiance, he rode up along ſide of me—I thought it was to ſtrike, and prepared to defend myſelf. I was however miſtaken; he ſnatched the reins out of my hand, and caught hold of them collected cloſe at the horſe's jaw; then fell flogging my horſe and ſpurring his own, till he got them both into full ſpeed; nor did he ſtop there, but continued to belabour mine with his whip,

and

and to ſpur his own, driving headlong over every impediment that came in our way, till I really thought he had run mad, or deſigned to kill me. Several times I was on the point of ſtriking him with my whip, in order to knock him off his horſe—but as often patience providentially came in to my aſſiſtance, and whiſpered to me to forbear and ſee it out. Mean time I conſidered myſelf as being in ſome danger; and yet ſuch was the power he had over the cattle, that I found it impoſſible to ſtop him: ſo reſigning the event to the direction of Providence, I ſuffered him without a further effort to proceed; I calling him every opprobrious name I could think of in lingua Franca, and he grinning, and calling me Dumus, Jihaſli, Burhl (i. e. hog, aſs, mule), in rapid and impetuous vehemence of tone and utterance.

He continued this for a length of I dare ſay ſome miles, over an uncultivated tract, here and there interſected with channels formed by rills of water in the periodical rains; thickly ſet with low furze, ferns, and other dwarf buſhes, and broken up and down into little hills. His horſe carried him clean over all: and though mine was every minute ſtumbling and nearly down, yet with a dexterity inexpreſſible, and a vigour altogether amazing, he kept him up by the bridle, and I may ſay *carried* him gallantly over every thing. I was aſtoniſhed very much at all this, and towards the end as much pleaſed as aſtoniſhed; which he perceiving, cried out frequently and triumphantly, "O, la Frangi! Heli! Heli! Frangi!" and at laſt

at laſt drawing in the horſes, ſtopping ſhort, and looking me full in the face, exclaimed in lingua Franca, " Que dice, Frangi—Que dice ?"

For ſome time I was incapable of making him any anſwer, but continued ſurveying him from head to foot as the moſt extraordinary ſavage I had ever beheld; while he ſtroked his whiſkers with great ſelf-complacency and compoſure, and nodded his head every now and then, as much as to ſay, Ay, ay, it is ſo! look at me! am not I a very capital fellow?—" A capital fellow indeed you are," ſaid I, " but I wiſh I was well out of your confounded clutches."

We alighted on the brow of a ſmall hill, whence was to be ſeen a full and uninterrupted proſpect of the country all round. The interpreter coming up, he called to him and deſired him to explain to me carefully the meaning of what he was about to ſay; which I will give you as nearly as I can in his own words, as they were tranſlated by the Linguiſt:

" You ſee thoſe mountains yonder," ſaid he, pointing to the Eaſt; " thoſe are in the province of *Kurdeſtan*, inhabited by a vile race of robbers called Jeſides, who pay homage to a God of their own called Jeſid (Jeſus), and worſhip the Devil from fear. They live by plunder, and often deſcend from thoſe mountains, croſs the Tigris which runs between them and us, and plunder and ravage this country in bands of great number and formidable ſtrength, carrying away into ſlavery all they can catch, and killing all who reſiſt them. This

country

country therefore, for ſome diſtance round us, is very dangerous to travellers, whoſe only ſafety lies in flight. Now it was our misfortune this morning to get a very bad horſe, for which, pleaſe ALLA (ſtroking his whiſkers), ſome one ſhall receive the baſtinado. Should we meet with a band of thoſe Curds, what could we do but fly? And if you, Frangi, rode this horſe, and I that, we could never eſcape: for I doubt you could not keep him up from falling under me, as I did under you: I ſhould therefore come down and be taken—you would loſe your guide, and miſs your way, and all of us be undone. Beſides," continued he, "there are many villages here where people live, who, if they only ſuſpected you were a Frank, would follow and ſacrifice you if they could to MAHOMET, and where of courſe you muſt run for it."

As ſoon as the interpreter had explained this to me, "Well," continued the Tartar, "what does he ſay now to it?" Then turning to me, and toſſing up his head—"Que dice, Frangi?"

"Why, I ſay," returned I, "that you have ſpoken good ſenſe and found reaſon; and I am obliged to you."

This, when interpreted fully, operated moſt pleaſingly upon him; his features relaxed into a broad look of ſatisfaction, and he ſaid:—"I will do every thing I can to make you eaſy and contented: and when I am obſtinate, don't reſiſt—for be aſſured I have reaſon for it; and above all things avoid laughing in my preſence. But we ſhall reach Moſul by and by, and probably then we may have no

more rides." For I expected to get down the river Tigris from Moſul to Bagdad, and had told him ſo, and he encouraged me with the expectation.

That night we came to a caravanſera which lay at ſome diſtance from a village. Here the Tartar, pleaſed with himſelf for the conduct of the day, and pleaſed with me for my approbation of it, ordered a moſt admirable ſupper; and not only, as was very common with him, rejected the beſt diſh in order to preſent it to me, but alſo ſelected for me the choiceſt bits of thoſe upon the table. He then ordered wine, obſerving that the fatigue of a Government Meſſenger demanded indulgence; and uſing a ſalvo of my ſuggeſtion on a former occaſion, viz. that the Prophet would not be offended with travellers more than with the ſick for taking it as it were *medicinally*.

We accordingly had wine, and admirable it was, though by no means equal to that we drank at the city of Diarbeker. I took little however, and the Tartar was much ſurpriſed at my abſtemiouſneſs; remarking, that he never ſaw a Frank before that was not a downright hog when he got the cup to his lips. My taking it in ſmall portions, while he drank it as we do table beer, particularly aſtoniſhed him. Before he lay down on his couch, he gave orders for horſes, threatening the people with ſevere caſtigation if they gave bad ones; holding up as an example the perſon that gave us the ſtumbling horſe that day, who he declared ſhould be baſtinadoed as ſoon as he

 returned,

returned, if there was a Cadi within ten leagues of him; and I dare to ſay that he kept his word moſt religiouſly.

The next morning we had excellent cattle; fear produced wonders among them, and we ſet forward juſt as the ſun roſe. As we entered the firſt village, I was ſomewhat alarmed by perceiving my guide draw up his horſe—deliberate—mutter to himſelf—and ſeem rather uneaſy while he viewed a crowd that was up the ſtreet before us; ſome of whom I perceived to be agitated with ſome extraordinary motions of the body, while one man ſtood in the middle, rolling his body into a variety of ſtrange contortions.—The Tartar, for a minute or two, ſeemed to be debating within himſelf whether he ſhould proceed or turn about: at length putting me on his left hand, he ſet forward at full ſpeed, leaving the crowd on his right, who, ſeeing the rapidity of our pace, flew on one ſide, and let us paſs. We ſoon however heard ſhouting behind us, and could hear plainly the words "Ghiaour! Frangi Cucu!" and looking back, perceived ſeveral ragged men like ſavages purſuing us, lifting ſtones occaſionally, and caſting them after us with all their might. The ſpeed of our horſes at laſt got us out of both ſight and hearing; and I plainly perceived, and was for the firſt time convinced, that my guide's conduct was directed by ſound ſenſe, ſpirit, good faith, and integrity.

LETTER

LETTER XLI.

THE extraordinary occurrence which I mentioned in my laſt letter required explanation, and my Tartar friend was not backward in giving it; for he loved exceedingly to hear himſelf talk, and, on any ſubject within the compaſs of his knowledge, was ſhrewd, perſpicuous, and even naturally eloquent: he had moreover on that occaſion acted the part of a ſkilful general; and as I applauded his prudence and addreſs, he was extremely kind and communicative, and gave me a full account of that affair, his motives, his deliberations, and the urgency of the caſe; and, in ſhort, every thing that could elucidate the circumſtance, or aggrandize his own importance. It would be a pity to take it out of his own words: I ſhall therefore relate them to you, as I had them through the medium of our Linguiſt, for they made an impreſſion on my memory not eaſily to be eraſed.

"You muſt know," ſaid he, "that there are ſpread over the face of this great and glorious empire a number of derviſes of different kinds—*holy* men, who renounce the enjoyments and pleaſures

of the world, to converſe with Mahomet and worſhip Alla. Some of thoſe are very good men, indeed ſaints, and never do any thing bad; preaching and praying, without hurting any thing, even a rat or a ſnake; nay, they would not hurt a Chriſtian. There are others again, of whom I have heard our Baſhaws and Effendis, and even the Maazeen, declare that they are forbid by the Koran; and yet the common people (the lower ſort you know have no ſenſe) reverence and worſhip them—they are called *Santons*; live by themſelves, ſometimes under ground like rabbits, and ſometimes in the thickets and woods. They go where they pleaſe, take the beſt ſeat in any man's houſe, cram themſelves with meat and drink, and yet none reſiſt them; for ſome will not, and others dare not. Nay, they often pollute women in the open ſtreets—and they never ſet their eyes on a Chriſtian or a Frank, that they will not kill, if poſſible. For my part, I think that they ought to be hanged, every one of them that had a head to be hanged by—or rather ſtaked—for no puniſhment is too great for them; but I dare not ſay ſo in that town—if I did, I ſhould be ſtoned to death by the rabble.

" As ſoon as I perceived the crowd, and the raſcals dancing, I knew that they were ſantons, and was ſure that they would ſtop us in order to extract money from us; in which caſe they would moſt probably have diſcovered you—for they have the eyes of the devil. Nothing then could ſave your life; the crowd would join them, and your brains would have been beat out with ſtones. I had a mind

to turn back and go round the town, but that might have cauſed ſuſpicion, and got us perhaps intercepted; ſo I determined to puſh by them boldly, which I did, you can teſtify, like a brave man. You ſaw enough yourſelf, to convince you of the danger you have eſcaped, and of my wiſdom and valour; let me therefore entreat you to be entirely guided by me, and above all things avoid that accurſed propenſity to laughter."

Since I firſt formed the reſolution of writing this account of my journey, I have been at ſome pains to dip into the beſt hiſtories of that country, and I find that in every inſtance my Tartar guide's information was correct. Thoſe ſantons, as well as other claſſes of derviſes and ſheihs, travel about the country and levy contributions on the inhabitants: ſome are really what they pretend to be, and are as pure and as pious as the monks of the primitive Chriſtian church; but the ſantons are monſters, who exiſt only by the barbarous credulity and more than ſavage ignorance of the lower order of the people—though reprobated, and indeed execrated, by the better ſort of Turks. They affect to be dementated (which with the Mahomedans is the greateſt mark of ſanctity), and under cover of that madneſs commit every exceſs and enormity, not merely with impunity, but with applauſe. Such is the melancholy ſtate of degradation, to which the weight of ſuperſtition's chains bends the mind of man! It is not long ſince I had a very pleaſing diſcuſſion of this extraordinary ſubject, with a gentleman of my acquaintance, for whoſe veracity

veracity I have great reſpect. Superſtition and credulity very naturally led to a conſideration of the Turkiſh religion, and I expreſſed my ſatisfaction, that the worſt excreſcences of the Chriſtian ſchiſms could not be compared with the Turkiſh faith in their derviſes. He ſaid, that he agreed it did not go quite the length of the ſantons; but he related to me a converſation between him and a Roman catholic, not more than twenty-four miles from the enlightened city of Dublin, which ſurpriſed me much.

"I was," ſaid he, "when a youth, very free in cenſuring all religions, and chiefly Popery; for, being bred among Roman catholics, I had the greater opportunity of ſeeing their abſurdities, which I treaſured up as ſo much gain, without ever taking into account their many virtues, of which they have their ſhare. One day I was on a party of pleaſure, at a place called ———, and in preſence of a poor country fellow ridiculed the prieſthood, attributing to them many vices, and particularly fornication and adultery. The man reſiſted me, and declared it was impoſſible. Then I ſuppoſe, ſaid I, if a prieſt and a woman were locked up in a room together for a year, and the woman in a week after coming forth was brought to bed of a child, you would not believe it to be the prieſt's. No, ſaid he, I would not. Then how came the child? I don't know, replied he—any way but by him. In ſhort, he would believe it ſelf-impregnation, or preternatural viſitation, rather than allow a prieſt to be capable of fornication."

" But," ſaid I, " you ſuppoſed a caſe—if the fellow was ſhrewd enough to ſay, no ſuch caſe could at all happen, he would have put you down; that was what he meant, though he knew not how to go about expreſſing it."

The difficulties and hazards of the journey, which ſeemed to thicken upon us as we advanced, made me pant for a ſpeedy concluſion to it; and the adventure of the laſt day opened more clearly to my view the dangers we had to encounter, which were ſtill likely to increaſe as we got to the eaſtward and ſouthward, where the fury of bigotry raged without remorſe; where the greater diſtance from the ſeat of government made the populace more lawleſs, and the magiſtrate more corrupt and tyrannical; where the total ſecluſion from all well ordered ſociety rendered the manners barbarous; where ſtrangers were ſeldom ſeen, and when ſeen fleeced and perſecuted; and where particularly, I had reaſon to believe, ſcarcely any Engliſhman had ever ſet his foot; and above all, where the very winds that blew were charged with deſtruction, and carried inſtant death upon their wings. I therefore earneſtly longed to reach Moſul, where the probability was, I ſhould get at leaſt the more comfortable and commodious conveyance of water carriage, and where I might refreſh myſelf completely, after the fatigues of ſo many days journey; and, if there was occaſion, claim a guard and protection, having along with me a letter to the Baſhaw, which I might

might withhold or deliver, juſt as beſt ſuited my inclination or convenience.

I could not help viewing with a ſad and melancholy eye my preſent ſtate; wandering, I may ſay alone, unaccommodated and wretched, through an inhoſpitable region, and more inhoſpitable people; where danger beſet me in a thouſand forms, and every ſtep I took, I took in hazard of my life; and comparing it with thoſe ſcenes of opulence and comfort which I had once experienced, where every lawful wiſh met with its accompliſhment; where every neceſſity was ſupplied, and every difficulty obviated; where tender love and attachment anticipated every deſire, and ſoothed every care; where the mutual endearments and reciprocal accommodations of tender relatives, wife, children, faithful friends, and kindly intimates gave a zeſt to life, made me feel that my exiſtence was of intereſt to others as well as to myſelf, and communicated a conſcious importance which the iſolated, ſolitary, ſelfiſh man can never feel: I could not help looking back with grief and mortification, to think that I once poſſeſſed thoſe bleſſings, and ſhould perhaps poſſeſs them no more; but, on the contrary, might periſh unknown, unheeded, and unlamented, in an unknown corner of the wilds of an unknown hoſtile country, without one friend to ſolace or to cheer me, or tell to thoſe who loved or took ſhare in my concerns, the place where I lay, or the particulars of my fate.

Nor

Nor in this diſmal train of reflections was Aleppo forgotten. It made the great connecting link between my former happineſs and preſent miſery; it was, as it were, the door through which I paſſed when I took my laſt farewell of comfort: when it cloſed and ſhut me out, the proſpect was indeed gloomy; nor did I after feel one happy ſenſation, unleſs the convulſive tranſports of a laugh, and the boiſterous fleeting mirth ariſing from the ſingularities of my guide, which, as the ſurge raiſed by the tempeſt above its proper height lifts up the ſhattered bark only to caſt it on the beach and leave it ſhipwrecked, elevated my ſpirits for the moment beyond their proper pitch, to retire quickly, and leave them in the horrors of ten times deeper melancholy.

Perceiving how much caſt down I was, my friendly Tartar began to rally me: "Jimmel," ſaid he, "the Santons have frightened you:—but don't be afraid—HASSAN ARTAZ is no boy: he can bring you through greater difficulties than thoſe, ſhould they befall us."

"But how comes it," ſaid I, "Haſſan, that you, who have ſo much power at the caravanſeras, have not power to reſiſt thoſe raſcally Santons, or the mobs of a village?"

"Why, as to the mob," ſaid he, "if I was by myſelf, or had only a true Believer with me, I would make them fly before me like the duſt before the wind. As to the Santons, no one can reſiſt them: the Great, who hate them, are obliged to ſhew them reſpect: and the

Baſhaw of Aleppo, nay the Commander of the Faithful himſelf, could not ſave you, if one of them called on the mob to ſtone you, or tear you to pieces. However, be of good cheer; for, pleaſe ALLA, I will deliver you ſafe and ſound to the Coja at Bagdad: beſides, we ſhall very ſoon be at Moſul, from whence we will go down by water, which will be very pleaſant: and the chief danger then will be in fair fighting, which is better than being cut off by Santons.—Should there be occaſion," ſaid he, looking moſt ferociouſly and brandiſhing his whip—" ſhould we be attacked by Curds or Robbers, you ſhall ſee—you ſhall ſee, Jimmel—Oh! holy Prophet, how I'll fight!"

LETTER XLII.

IT was early in the evening when the pointed turrets of the city of Moſul opened on our view, and communicated no very unpleaſant ſenſations to my heart. I found myſelf on ſcripture ground; and could not help feeling ſome portion of the pride of the traveller, when I reflected that I was now within ſight of Nineveh, renowned in holy writ.—The city is ſeated in a very barren ſandy plain, on the banks of the river Tigris, embelliſhed with

with the united gifts of Pomona, Ceres, and Flora. The external view of the town is much in its favour, being encompaſſed with ſtately walls of ſolid ſtone, over which the ſteeples or minarets of other lofty buildings are ſeen with increaſed effect. Here I firſt ſaw a large caravan encamped, halting on its march from the Gulph of Perſia to Armenia; and it certainly made a moſt noble appearance, filling the eye with a multitude of grand objects, all uniting to form one magnificent whole.

But though the outſide be ſo beautiful, the inſide is moſt deteſtable: the heat is ſo intenſe, that in the middle of the day there is no ſtirring out; and even at night the walls of the houſes are ſo heated by the day's ſun, as to produce a diſagreeable heat to the body at a foot or even a yard diſtance from them. However, I entered it with ſpirits, becauſe I conſidered it as the laſt ſtage of the worſt part of my pilgrimage. But, alas! I was diſappointed in my expectation; for the Tigris was dried up by the intenſity of the heat, and an unuſually long drought; and I was obliged to take the matter with a patient ſhrug, and accommodate my mind to a journey on horſeback, which, though not ſo long as that I had already made, was likely to be equally dangerous, and which therefore demanded a full exertion of fortitude and reſolution.—There are a thouſand latent energies in every man, which only want the powerful voice of neceſſity to call them out: and now drawn to the top of my bent, I prepared my mind to ſet out in the morning, with as much cheerfulneſs as if the

hopes of water carriage to Bagdad had never once occurred to my mind.

It was ſtill the hot ſeaſon of the year, and we were to travel through that country, over which the horrid wind I have before mentioned ſweeps its conſuming blaſts: it is called by the Turks Samiel, is mentioned by holy Job under the name of the Eaſt Wind, and extends its ravages all the way from the extreme end of the Gulph of Cambaya up to Moſul; it carries along with it ſleaks of fire, like threads of ſilk; inſtantly ſtrikes dead thoſe that breathe it, and conſumes them inwardly to aſhes; the fleſh ſoon becoming black as a coal, and dropping off from the bones. Philoſophers conſider it as a kind of electric fire, proceeding from the ſulphureous or nitrous exhalations which are kindled by the agitation of the winds. The only poſſible means of eſcape from its fatal effects, is to fall flat on the ground, and thereby prevent the drawing it in: to do this, however, it is neceſſary firſt to ſee it, which is not always practicable.

But beſides this, the ordinary heat of the climate is extremely dangerous to the blood and lungs, and even to the ſkin, which it bliſters and peels away from the fleſh, affecting the eyes ſo much, that travellers are obliged to wear a tranſparent covering over them to keep the heat off.

That night, Haſſan ſaid, that as we muſt proceed to Bagdad on horſeback, he would ſtay the next at Moſul to refreſh us; which

I objected to: he then ſpoke of the ſucceeding part of the journey as a thing of nothing: we had already come near nine hundred miles, and had not above five to go: beſides, as the weather was warmer, we would travel more in the night, and lie-by in the day-time, in places with which he was well acquainted.

In ſhort, the poor fellow ſeemed to take an intereſt in my ſafety, and to wiſh to alleviate the pains of my mind; and he always concluded with a remonſtrance againſt laughing, which from frequently hearing I now underſtood even in his own language.—"Don't laugh, Jimmel, don't laugh," he would ſay with great ſolemnity.—By the bye, I obſerved, that when he was well diſpoſed to me, he always called me Jimmel (a name which I preſume he conſtructed, with my ſervant's aſſiſtance, from the reſemblance of ſound between Campbel and Camel, Jimmel being the Turkiſh for that animal); and when angry, he called me Frangi, with all its gradations of Turkiſh abuſe, Dumus, Cucu, &c.

That evening, as we ſat in the caravanſera, a man entered and ſpoke to Haſſan, who ſeemed to pay great attention to what he was ſaying. He was a well made man—below the middle ſize—and had that kind of countenance which beſpeaks ſhrewdneſs, ingenuity, and mirth. At length he retired; and ſoon after Haſſan bid us riſe and follow him: he went into a ſort of public room, where a number of people were collected, ſitting as is the cuſtom in coffee-houſes on low ſtools. Haſſan pointed to me to ſit down, which I did: then

then placing the Interpreter near us, he ſat himſelf: and ſtraight I perceived the little man, who had juſt been ſpeaking to him, ſtep forth from the crowd and begin to pronounce a ſort of prologue, which I neither underſtood nor wiſhed to underſtand: it appeared from his cadences to be metrical, and ſeemed, by the little impreſſion it made on his auditors, to have nothing particular to recommend it. At length, however, he pauſed, and, hemming ſeveral times to clear his pipes, began again to hold forth. "He is going to tell a ſtory," ſaid the Interpreter. The attention of all was fixed upon him, and he proceeded with a modulation of tones, a variety of action, and an energy of expreſſion, that I think I have never heard or ſeen excelled: his action indeed was ſingularly admirable; and I could perceive that he was occaſionally ſpeaking in the tones of a man and a woman; in which latter character he gave a picture of whining ludicrous diſtreſs, that moved the riſible muſcles of all the company. I looked at Haſſan, and he was grinning as merrily as could any monkey or Frank in Aſia. The Linguiſt occaſionally interpreted what the ſtory-teller was ſaying; and I ſoon began to ſuſpect that it was a ſtory I had more than once read in the Arabian Nights, though altered, and in ſome meaſure dramatized by the ſpeaker. I looked ſeveral times archly at Haſſan, and he returned my glance, as much as to ſay, You ſee I don't laugh at all this. At length, however, the orator came to a part where he was to mimic a poor little hunch-back (for I now diſcovered it to

be the ſtory of little Hunch-back) choking with a bone: he threw up his back; ſqueezed, till all the blood in his body ſeemed collected in his face, his eyes rolled in their ſockets, his knees knocked, he twiſted and folded his body, putting his fore-finger and thumb into his throat, and pulling with all his might, as if to pull ſomething out: at length he grew weaker, ſtretched his arms down, and his fingers back, like thoſe of a perſon ſtrangling—kicked, fell, quivered, and died. It is impoſſible for any deſcription to do juſtice to the perfection of his acting; and what rendered it the more extraordinary was, that though it was a ſcene of death, and well acted death, he continued to render it ſo ludicrous in circumſtances, as to ſuſpend the audience between a laugh and cry. They did not remain long ſo; for he ſuddenly bounced up, and began the moſt doleful lamentation of a woman, and exhibited ſuch a ſcene of burleſque diſtreſs as I never witneſſed. All burſt out in torrents of laughter, Haſſan as well as the reſt—I alone remained purpoſely ſerious; and the orator, according to cuſtom, broke off in the middle of an intereſting ſcene.

When we returned to the caravanſera, I rallied the Tartar on the ſcore of his laughter: he growled, and ſaid, "Who could avoid it? Why did not you laugh as you were wont?"—"Becauſe," ſaid I, "he did not act as comically as you."—"No," returned he, "but becauſe Franks and monkies only laugh for miſchief, and where they ought not. No, Jimmel, you will never ſee me laugh at miſchief."—"What,"

ſaid

ſaid I, "not at a poor man's being choked to death!"—"Nay," ſaid he, "I ſeldom laugh, yet I could not avoid it then." That very hour, however, a puppet-ſhow was exhibited in the ſame room, and my grave guide laughed till the tears ran down his cheeks, and his voice ſunk into a whining treble. *Karaghuſe* was certainly extravagantly comical, though filthy; and frightened a Cadi with a whole troop of Janiſſaries, by letting fly at them a ſhot or two—*a parte poſt*——

The next day we ſet out well mounted, and puſhed on with renovated ſpirits towards Bagdad. Haſſan could no more have the aſſurance to cenſure laughing; and, as I was little diſpoſed to do it in time of danger, we were likely to agree well. In ſhort, we began to like one another's company; and if I brought him to be a greater laugher than he uſed to be, he gave himſelf the credit of having made me much more ſerious than I had been before—I profited by his inſtructions.

It would be an effort as idle and fruitleſs on my part, as unentertaining and unintereſting on yours, to attempt to give you a regular detail of our progreſs from Moſul to Bagdad; the ſame general cautions were obſerved, with the ſame occaſional relaxations. Haſſan ſtill continued to treat me with a repetition of himſelf and his horſe, his own feats and his horſe's feats; to be ſilent when ill-tempered, and loquacious when gay; to flog the attendants at the caravanſeras; order the beſt horſes, and eat the beſt victuals, and to

give

give me the beſt of both; and finally, we had our fallings out and fallings in again: but I had not the mortification of ſeeing any more women tied in ſacks on horſes' backs, and excoriated with a ride of fifty miles a day.

As we rode along we overtook ſeveral times ſtraggling callenders, a kind of Mahomedan monks, who profeſs poverty and great ſanctity; they were dreſſed all in rags, covered with filth, carried a gourd, by way of bottle, for water—I preſume ſometimes for wine too—and bore in their hands a long pole decorated with rags, and pieces of cloth of various colours. They are ſuppoſed by the vulgar to have ſupernatural powers: but Haſſan, who ſeemed to have caught all his ideas from his betters, expreſſed no ſort of opinion of them; he *ſalam'd* to them, and gave them money, however. It was extraordinary enough, that they were all in one ſtory—all were going on a pilgrimage to Mecca—or, as they call it, *Hadjé*.

As ſoon as ever we got out of their ſight and hearing, Haſſan ſhook his head, and repeated "Hadje, Hadje!" ſeveral times doubtingly, and grinned, as he was accuſtomed to do when he was diſpleaſed, without being able to manifeſt anger. "Hadje!" he would cry, "Hadje, Hadje!" I aſked him what he meant; and he ſaid, that theſe fellows were no more going to Mecca than I was. "I have a thouſand and a thouſand times," ſaid he, "met callenders on the road, and always found them facing towards Mecca. If I am going ſouthward, I always overtake them; if northward, I meet them; and all the time they are

going wherever their buſineſs carries them. I overtook, continued he, "one of them one day, and I gave him alms and paſſed him by; he was coming, he ſaid, after me, towards Mecca: but I halted on purpoſe for a day, and he never paſſed; and a merchant arriving at the ſame caravanſera informed me, he had met the very ſame fellow four leagues farther northward; who had anſwered him with the ſame ſtory, and ſtill had his face turned towards the ſouth."

Fifty years ago, no man in Turkey would have dared to hold this language; but every day's experience evinces that the light of reaſon ſpreads its rays faſt through the world—even through Turkey; and furniſhes a well founded hope, that in another half century every monkiſh impoſtor (I mean real impoſtors), whether they be Mahomedan monks, or Chriſtian monks, will be chaſed from ſociety, and forced to apply to honeſt means for ſubſiſtence.

END OF PART II.

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JOURNEY TO INDIA, &c.

PART III.

A

JOURNEY TO INDIA, &c.

LETTER XLIII.

After paſſing through an immenſe tract of country, diſtinguiſhed by nothing that could ſerve even as a circumſtance to mark and remember our daily journeys, but which I obſerved to grow manifeſtly worſe, both in ſoil and climate, as we proceeded Southward, we came in ſight of the famous city of Bagdad, on the ſeventh day from that on which we left Moſul, and on the eighteenth from that of my departure from Aleppo; in which eighteen days we had rode fourteen hundred miles, partly through a route which no European, I have reaſon to believe, ever took before.

On entering the city, I deſired my guide to conduct me to the houſe of a Merchant, to whom I had got letters of credit and introduction. He took me accordingly through the windings of ſeveral

ſtreets, and at laſt ſtopped at the door of an Armenian Merchant, a *Coja*, where he made me alight, and come in. I was received with great politeneſs; and, on producing my letter, found that he was not the perſon to whom it was directed: I accordingly made a ſuitable apology, and was for retiring to find the houſe of the proper perſon, for which purpoſe the Armenian offered me a ſervant, when, to my great aſtoniſhment, my Tartar interfered; ſaid that it was to this Merchant he brought all his goods, and that I muſt remain where I was; at the ſame time ordering the Armenian, in a peremptory tone, to take charge of me, and uſe me well. It was in vain that the Armenian endeavoured to explain to him the nature of the buſineſs, and that I inſiſted I muſt go to the other Merchant---HASSAN was peremptory, and declared that I ſhould not. It was ſo extremely *outré* and ridiculous, that I could not be angry; and the good Armenian uniting his voice with that of the Tartar, and entreating me to favour him with my company, I acquieſced, and indeed remained in his houſe all the time I was at Bagdad. This was proof poſitive, if any other than I already had was wanting, that he conſidered me merely as a piece of merchandiſe, which he was bound (according to the language of Merchants) to deliver in good order and condition.

I had undertaken, before leaving Aleppo, to give the guide, if he acted conformably to my wiſhes, and behaved well, twenty pounds over and above the hundred provided by the agreement: I

therefore

therefore ſent for him, to ſettle finally, and part. He had heard that I was a perſon different from what he had ſuppoſed me to be: but it did not alter his conduct, as might be expected, or make him ſtoop to cringing; he ſtill ſpoke with the ſame honeſt, bold familiarity; and when I gave him the promiſed twenty pounds, he never hinted, cringed for, or even looked as if he expected more: but when we came to part, the feelings he diſcloſed, and thoſe I myſelf felt, convinced me, that Man is not naturally that brute which prejudice has made him; and, when left to its own operations, the human heart would be uniformly kindly, affectionate, and ſympathetic: the poor, rough, unpoliſhed Turk, betrayed the ſtrongeſt marks of ſenſibility, and I myſelf once more felt the uneaſineſs of parting.

I think this is the proper place to give you my opinion of the Turks, while the recollection of honeſt HASSAN is freſh in my mind; and I cannot do it better than by quoting the words of an excellent French Writer----

"The Turks (ſays M. du LOIR) are naturally a good people, "which is not to be aſcribed to the climate; for the Greeks born "in the ſame climate have very different diſpoſitions, and retain "only the bad qualities of their anceſtors, viz. roguery, treachery, "and vanity. The Turks, on the contrary, priding themſelves "on their integrity and modeſty, are diſtinguiſhed in general by "an open, ingenuous ſimplicity of manners; courtiers only ex-

"cepted,

" cepted, who, in Turkey, as every where elſe, are the ſlaves of " ambition and avarice."

The name of Bagdad has been ſo renowned in Eaſtern ſtory, and is the ſcene of ſo many of thoſe bewitching tales which we find tranſlated, or pretended to be tranſlated, from the Arabic and Perſian, that I felt great pleaſure in ſeeing it, and conceived myſelf to be at the very fountain-head of marvellous adventure and romance. Fraught with this idea, I was impatient to go forth into the town; and notwithſtanding the weather was beyond conception hot, I paraded a number of ſtreets: but never did I, in the courſe of my life, ſee a place ſo calculated to bely the opinion one would form of it from the Eaſtern tales. It appeared to me to be among the moſt diſagreeable cities of the world, and has no one circumſtance that I could diſcover to recommend it: the heat is ſo great, that in the Summer-time the inhabitants are forced to keep their markets in the night, and to lie all night in the open air on the terraces of their houſes.

The Armenian with whom I reſided, did every thing in his power to render the place agreeable to me; and I ſhall always retain a lively ſenſe of his goodneſs and hoſpitality: he was not only generous and polite, but well informed, and pleaſing in converſation. I took occaſion to expreſs to him the diſappointment I felt at finding Bagdad ſo very different from what I expected; and told him that I had, when a youth, learned to think highly of it,

or

or rather romantically, from reading Eaſtern tales. This led to a converſation on the Arabian Nights Entertainments, a copy of which he had in the Arabic, and produced it: he then ſhewed me, with great triumph, a French tranſlation of them, printed at Paris, which he had read, and declared that the tranſlation was nothing at all in compariſon with the original. I believe he was well qualified to judge, for he was a perfect maſter of the French language.

We talked of the Eaſtern tale of the Glaſs Man, who, in a reverie, increaſes his ſtock till he gets ſo rich as, in imagination, to marry the Cadi's daughter, &c. &c. and in kicking his wife, kicks all his glaſſes about, and deſtroys the whole of his viſionary fortune. I praiſed the humour of it much---"Sir," ſaid he, "there is nothing in it that may not be experienced frequently in actual life: thoſe waking dreams are the uſual concomitants of opium: a man who has accuſtomed himſelf to the pernicious practice of eating opium, is conſtantly ſubject to them. I have, in the courſe of my time, found a thouſand of thoſe dreamers holding forth in the plenitude of imaginary power. I have ſeen a common porter become Cadi, and order the baſtinado. I have ſeen a wretched tailor raiſed by the effects of opium to the office of Aga of the Janiſſaries, depoſing the Sultan, and ordering the bow-ſtring to all about him. I have ſeen ſome indulging in the blandiſhments of love with Princeſſes, and others wallowing in the wealth of Golconda. But the moſt extraordinary viſionary of this kind I ever met with, was one

who

who imagined himſelf tranſlated to Paradiſe, co-equal to Mahomet, and ſitting by the ſide of that prophet, arguing with him in defence of the uſe of wine and opium: he argued moſt ingeniouſly, liſtened in ſilence to the ſuppoſed arguments of his adverſary, anſwered them, replied, rejoined, and ſtill argued on---till, growing at laſt angry, he ſwore that he was as a good a prophet as him, did not care a fig for him, and called him fool and falſe prophet. A Turk who was preſent, in the fulneſs of his zeal, laid a ſtick very heavily acroſs his ſhoulders, and put an end to the viſion: and never did I ſee a wretch ſo abject, ſo forlorn, or ſo miſerably deſponding; he put his forehead to the ground, which he wet with his tears, crying, Mercy, Mahomet! mercy, holy Prophet! mercy, Alla!---nor could he find relief (ſuch is the ruin of opium) till he got a freſh ſupply of it in his mouth, which ſoon gave him a temporary reſpite from the horrors of his ſituation."

Unqueſtionably, Bagdad was once a great city, of flouriſhing commerce; but the Sultan AMURATH the Fourth, when he made himſelf maſter of it, put the richeſt Merchants ſettled there to death; and it has ever ſince gradually declined. About two days journey from it, lie the ruins of the once famous city of Babylon. I was much diſpoſed to go to ſee it, and thence drop down the Euphrates to Baſſora: but my Armenian hoſt told me there was nothing in it to recompenſe a perſon for half the trouble; for, of that magnificent city, which was ſixty miles in circumference, which was encompaſſed with walls eighty-ſeven feet in thickneſs,

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and three hundred and fifty in height, nothing was to be ſeen but the bare foundations of ſome great edifices. The Tower of Belus, and the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, lie with the reſt in undiſtinguiſhed ruin. The greateſt curioſities, then, were, in the firſt place, the ruins of a building ſaid to be the famed Tower of Babel, which appeared to have been half a league in compaſs; and the remains of a vaſt bridge over the Euphrates, where it is half a league broad.

I was not more anxious to arrive at the city of Bagdad than I was to leave it; and having written letters, and put them in a way of being forwarded to Europe, I took leave of my friendly hoſpitable Armenian, and, with a thouſand acknowledgments for his kindneſs, ſet out on horſeback to a place on the Tigris, where I embarked in a boat, in order to proceed to Baſſora. This river, known ſince the firſt records of human exiſtence by Geographers, is remarkable for its rapidity, whence, PLINY ſays, it has the name of Tigris, (in the Median language, a dart); and for its extraordinary courſe, which is in many places under ground, riſes in Armenia, ſinks into the earth near mount Taurus, and runs under a mountain---then riſing at the other ſide, follows its courſe through the lake Theſpites---again ſinks frequently under ground, and continues hid at one time for a ſpace of twenty-five miles; where, once more emerging, it glides along with a very rapid ſtream, meets the Euphrates at a place called Korna, paſſes through Baſſora, and falls into the Perſian Gulph.

As the boat in which I took my paſſage had no convenience for excluding the violence of the ſun, except an awning, I ſuffered extremely from the heat. The river itſelf was grand; but the banks, and contiguous country, contained nothing to attract notice---no object to diverſify the dreary, deſerted aſpect of the ſcene ---nothing to afford room for reflection, or give birth to a new idea. I do not remember to have ever paſſed through ſuch a vaſt extent of country, ſo uniformly dull and unintereſting. The only thing that ſerved to keep the mind alive, was the apprehenſion of robbers, who, in great numbers, hover over this river, and plunder paſſengers. We had taken care, on leaving Bagdad, to be well provided with fire-arms; and they did us yeomen's ſervice---for we were frequently attacked by robbers with a view to plunder, but found that a ſhot or two diſperſed and ſent them off in conſternation. One night, however, in paſſing a creek, we perceived ſeveral boats iſſuing from it, in great order, and in a manner that evinced method and premeditation: we ſilently prepared for their reception, and were completely ready to meet them warmly, while they thought us quite unprepared, and unconſcious of their approach: they firſt endeavoured to board us by ſurpriſe: wiſhing rather to frighten than to kill them, we began by firing over their heads; on which they ſet up the moſt horrible ſhouts, and ruſhed on with a tumultuous rapidity, making the moſt terrible noiſe, in order to intimidate us: they were by this time quite near us; we therefore took aim at them, and let fly,

and

and immediately perceived them in great confuſion, ſome of the boats loſing their helm, and falling with the ſtream on the others: at laſt we ſaw them ſheer off, and they gave us no farther trouble.

LETTER XLIV.

AFTER eight or ten as diſagreeable days as I remember to have ſpent in my life, weakened with inceſſant watching, haraſſed with bodily fatigue, and melted with the exceſſive heat of the ſun, I arrived at the city of Baſſora, where I was received with the utmoſt hoſpitality by Mr. LATOUCHE, the Company's Reſident from Bombay, who did every thing poſſible for my accommodation, and procured me every inſtruction reſpecting my further progreſs.

This city, as well as Bagdad, is famous in marvellous ſtory. The country about it is conſidered by the natives as the beſt ſpot in Aſia, though the burning winds annoy and frequently deſtroy travellers, overwhelming them with mountains of hot ſand, driven, like waves of the ſea, before the tempeſt out of the neighbouring deſerts. It carries on a great trade, and is inhabited by vaſt numbers of Chriſtians and Jews. The Engliſh and Dutch have factories here, as well for the purpoſe of commerce,

as the tranſit of diſpatches, by way of Damaſcus and Aleppo, to Europe. The richeſt merchandiſe of India and Europe are brought here in caravans; and its opulence is greatly increaſed by the caravans of Pilgrims, who paſs through it on their way to Mecca, and pay great duties, bartering for many rich commodities. The horſes of this place are celebrated for their ſuperior excellence: it is ſaid that they will run thirty hours without meat or drink; I doubt the fact, and ſhould be ſorry to ſee ſo inhuman an experiment tried.

One comfortable circumſtance attending Baſſora is, that at night the ſtreets may be walked with perfect ſafety at all hours. It is ſubject to an Arab Prince, who is tributary to the Turk, and whoſe revenue is very great, as well from the above-mentioned cauſes, as becauſe he gives full liberty to all Nations to come and trade to his capital.

From Baſſora I took my paſſage in a date-boat going to Muſkat, expecting to get from thence a ſpeedy paſſage to Bombay; but the boat ſprung a leak at ſea, and we were obliged to run into Buſheer, where I was very hoſpitably received and entertained by Mr. GALLEY, the Company's Reſident.

There really ſeemed to be an unuſual fatality attending me throughout the whole of my journey. You will recollect, in the firſt inſtance, I was prevented, by the war with France, from going by the direct route which I ſhould otherwiſe have taken, and obliged to paſs through the Low Countries and Germany---In the

next place, at Venice I was diſappointed in obtaining a paſſage to Latachæa; and, immediately on the heels of that, loſt my ſervant at Trieſte, by ſending him for letters to Venice---Afterwards, when I had gone to Alexandria with expectation of travelling through Egypt, and viewing that intereſting part of the world, I found myſelf prevented by the unhappy circumſtances of the country---the plague raging in Alexandria, and all the roads being blocked up by an incurſion of the Arabs. Thus mortified and diſappointed, I turned about, in order to make my way in another direction; and arriving at Cyprus, found, to my infinite ſurpriſe and regret, that an epidemic diſeaſe, little ſhort of the plague, prevailed there, and ſwept off the inhabitants in great numbers: when, after ſurmounting all thoſe obſtacles, I arrived at Aleppo, the firſt information I got was, that the caravan was gone, and that it would be a long time before another would be ready; and my departure from Aleppo was attended with circumſtances no leſs inauſpicious than my entrance---At Moſul I experienced another diſappointment, by the river's being dried up, and rendered impracticable by boats---My paſſage from Baſſora to Muſkat was impeded by the veſſel ſpringing a leak---And now, when at laſt I hoped to get from Buſheer to Bombay, I was ſtopped by the intelligence that the Gulph was blocked up by French privateers, inſomuch as no veſſel could hope to eſcape. I was therefore obliged to remain at Buſheer, till a Company's frigate, commanded by Captain HARDY, and ſoon expected, ſhould

ſhould afford me an opportunity of proceeding to Bombay. Time, however, brought that period about; and I took my paſſage, and arrived ſafe at Bombay, where I ſoon after embarked on board a Portugueſe veſſel, being the only conveyance that offered for me to proceed to Madras: ſhe was firſt bound to Goa, and we arrived ſafely at that iſland, where I was received with great politeneſs, and treated with the moſt friendly attention, by Mr. HENSHAW, the Engliſh Reſident.

Goa belongs to the Portugueſe: the Viceroy of that Nation lives there in great pomp. It was once the ſcene of the moſt abominable cruelties, exerciſed by that flagitious people on the natives, under pretended zeal for Chriſtianity---I had read the Abbé RAYNAL's glowing deſcription of it; and as I trod the ground, my frame trembled at the thoughts of the maſſacres perpetrated there.

I was impatient to get from Goa, and yet I looked forward to my departure with a ſecret uneaſineſs, for which I was entirely unable to account---I wiſhed to proceed, and yet ſome ſecret foreboding whiſpered to my heart that I was on the verge of calamity: ſo powerful was it, and ſo obſtinate, that I could neither reaſon away its admonitions, nor reſiſt its impreſſions; and ſomething inceſſantly told me, in as plain language as if a human being ſpoke, that I ſhould ſuffer a dreadful misfortune. As I had all my life been an enemy to ſuperſtition, I felt my ſpirit inſulted, and my underſtanding degraded, by the involuntary victory which I allowed to this impreſſion---I combated it with reaſon, with ridicule, with ſelf-

contempt

contempt---all in vain: in ſpite of me, I became the very ſlave of gloomy preſentiment; and in order to get the ſuccedaneous aid of a friend's reaſon, as well as to be prepared, I communicated the ſtate of my feelings to Mr. HENSHAW. In vain he endeavoured ſo cheer me: all he could do was to give me his counſel; in conſequence of which I actually ſettled all my affairs up to that day, made my will, left it with Mr. HENSHAW, and, full of dreadful forebodings of ſhipwreck, went on board a Portugueſe ſnow bound to Madras.

It was now the eighteenth day of May when we ſailed from Goa. The hemiſphere had been for ſome days overcaſt with clouds: ſome light ſhowers of rain had fallen; and you may conclude that it did not tend to raiſe my ſpirits, or free me from my ominous apprehenſions, to hear that thoſe circumſtances indicated an approaching gale of wind. I obſerved, moreover, that the veſſel was much too deep in the water, being greatly overloaded---that ſhe was in many reſpects defective, and, as the ſeamen ſay, ill-found, and in ſhort very unfit to encounter a gale of wind of any violence. I ſcorned, however, to yield to thoſe united impreſſions, and determined to proceed.

On the nineteenth, the ſky was obſcured by immenſe fleeces of clouds, ſurcharged with inflammable matter; and in the evening, the rain fell in torrents, the firmament darkened apace, ſudden night came on, and the horrors of extreme darkneſs were rendered ſtill more horrible by the peals of thunder which rent the air, and the

frequent

frequent flaſhes of lightning, which ſerved only to ſhew us the horror of our ſituation, and leave us in increaſed darkneſs: mean-time the wind became more violent, blowing on the ſhore; and a heavy ſea, raiſed by its force, united with it to make our ſtate more formidable.

By day-light on the morning of the twentieth, the gale had increaſed to a furious tempeſt; and the ſea, keeping pace with it, ran mountain-high; and as it kept invariably to the ſame point, the Captain and Officers became ſeriouſly alarmed, and almoſt perſuaded that the South-weſt Monſoon had ſet in, which, if it were ſo, would render it abſolutely impoſſible for us to weather the coaſt. All that day, however, we kept as cloſe as the violence of the weather would allow us to the wind; but the ſea canted her head ſo to leeward, that ſhe made more lee than head-way; and the rigging was ſo ſtrained with the work, that we had little hope of keeping off the ſhore, unleſs the wind changed, of which there was not now the ſmalleſt probability. During the night there was no intermiſſion of the ſnow: many of the ſails flew into ribbons; ſome of the rigging was carried away; and ſuch exertions were made, that, before morning, every ſtick that could poſſibly be ſtruck was down upon the deck.

About ſeven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-firſt, I was alarmed by an unuſual noiſe upon the deck, and, running up, perceived that every remaining ſail in the veſſel, the fore-ſail alone excepted, was totally carried away. The ſight was horrible; and

the

the whole veſſel preſented a ſpectacle as dreadful to the feelings as mortifying to human pride. Fear had produced, not only all the helpleſſneſs of deſpondency, but all the miſchievous freaks of inſanity. In one place ſtood the Captain, raving, ſtamping, and tearing his hair in handfuls from his head---here, ſome of the crew were caſt upon their knees, clapping their hands, and praying, with all the extravagance of horror painted in their faces---there, others were flogging their images with all their might, calling upon them to allay the ſtorm. One of our paſſengers, who was Purſer of an Engliſh East-Indiaman, had got hold of a caſe-bottle of rum, and, with an air of diſtraction and deep deſpair imprinted in his face, was ſtalking about in his ſhirt. I perceived him to be on the point of ſerving it about, in large tumblers, to the few undiſmayed people; and well convinced, that, ſo far from alleviating, it would ſharpen the horrors of their mind, I went forward, and with much difficulty prevented him.

Having accompliſhed this point, I applied myſelf to the Captain, and endeavoured to bring him back (if poſſible) to his recollection, and to a ſenſe of what he owed to his duty as a commander, and to his dignity as a man: I exhorted him to encourage the ſailors by his example; and ſtrove to raiſe his ſpirits, by ſaying that the ſtorm did not appear to me by any means ſo terrible as ſome I had before experienced.

While I was thus employed, we ſhipped a ſea on the ſtarboard ſide, which I really thought would have ſent us down. The veſ-

ſel ſeemed to ſink beneath its weight, ſhivered, and remained motionleſs---it was a moment of critical ſuſpenſe: fancy made me think I felt her gradually deſcending---I gave myſelf up as gone, and ſummoned all my fortitude to bear approaching death with becoming manhood.

Juſt at this criſis, the water, which ruſhed with incredible force through all ports of the veſſel, brought out floating, and nearly ſuffocated, another Engliſh paſſenger, who was endeavouring to take a little repoſe in a ſmall cabin boarded off from the deck: he was a very ſtout young man, and full of true ſpirit. Finding that the veſſel was not, as I had thought, going immediately down, he joined me in exhorting the Captain to his duty: we perſuaded him to throw the guns overboard, as well as a number of trunks and packages with which the veſſel was much encumbered; and, with ſome little exertion, we got the pumps ſet agoing.

Here I will ſtop, knowing the warm ſenſibility of my FREDERICK's mind; and, convinced that his ſympathetic heart will go hand-in-hand with his Father's ſufferings, I will not overcharge it with grief by an immediate continuation of the buſineſs, but defer it to another Letter.

LETTER

LETTER XLV.

THE name of the Engliſh paſſenger, whom I mentioned to you in my laſt Letter as aſſiſting me in getting the Captain and Mariners to do their duty, was HALL. He was a young man of a moſt amiable diſpoſition, and with it poſſeſſed all that manly ſpirit that gives preſence of mind in exigences of danger. He and I having, with great difficulty, got ſome hands to ſtick to the pumps, ſtood at the wheel, at once to aſſiſt the men, and prevent them from quitting it; and, although hopeleſs, determined that no effort practicable on our parts ſhould be wanting to the preſervation of the veſſel. The water, however, gained upon the pumps, notwithſtanding every effort; and it evidently appeared that we could not keep her long above water.

At ten o'clock the wind ſeemed to increaſe, and amounted to a downright hurricane: the ſky was ſo entirely obſcured with black clouds, and the rain fell ſo thick, that objects were not diſcernible from the wheel to the ſhip's head. Soon the pumps were choaked, and could no longer be worked: then diſmay ſeized on all---nothing but unutterable deſpair, ſilent anguiſh, and horror, wrought up to frenzy, was to be ſeen; not a ſingle ſoul was ca-

pable of an effort to be uſeful---all ſeemed more deſirous to extinguiſh their calamities by embracing death, than willing, by a painful exertion, to avoid it.

At about eleven o'clock we could plainly diſtinguiſh a dreadful roaring noiſe, reſembling that of waves rolling againſt rocks; but the darkneſs of the day, and the accompanying rains, prevented us from ſeeing any diſtance; and if they were rocks, we might be actually daſhed to pieces on them before we could perceive them. At twelve o'clock, however, the weather cleared up a little, and both the wind and the ſea ſeemed to have abated: the very expanſion of the proſpect round the ſhip was exhilerating; and as the weather grew better, and the ſea leſs furious, the ſenſes of the people returned, and the general ſtupefaction began to decreaſe.

The weather continuing to clear up, we in ſome time diſcovered breakers and large rocks without ſide of us; ſo that it appeared we muſt have paſſed quite cloſe to them, and were now fairly hemmed in between them and the land.

In this very critical juncture, the Captain, entirely contrary to my opinion, adopted the dangerous reſolution of letting go an anchor, to bring her up with her head to the ſea: But, though no ſeaman, my common ſenſe told me that ſhe could never ride it out, but muſt directly go down. The event nearly juſtified my judgment; for ſhe had ſcarcely been at anchor before an enormous ſea rolling over her, overwhelmed and filled her with water, and

every

every one on board concluded that ſhe was certainly ſinking---On the inſtant, a Laſcar, with a preſence of mind worthy an old Engliſh mariner, took an axe, ran forward, and cut the cable.

On finding herſelf free, the veſſel again floated, and made an effort to right herſelf; but ſhe was almoſt completely water-logged, and heeled to larboard ſo much that the gunnel lay under water. We then endeavoured to ſteer as faſt as we could for the land, which we knew could not be at any great diſtance, though we were unable to diſcover it through the hazy weather: the fore-ſail was looſened; by great efforts in rolling, ſhe righted a little, her gunnel was got above water, and we ſcudded as well as we could before the wind, which ſtill blew hard on ſhore; and at about two o'clock the land appeared at a ſmall diſtance a head.

The love of life countervails all other conſiderations in the mind of Man. The uncertainty we were under with regard to the ſhore before us, which we had reaſon to believe was part of HYDER ALLI's dominions, where we ſhould meet with the moſt rigorous treatment, if not ultimate death, was forgotten in the joyful hope of ſaving life; and we ſcudded towards the ſhore in all the exulting tranſports of people juſt ſnatched from the jaws of death.

This gleam of happineſs continued not long: a tremendous ſea rolling after us, broke over our ſtern, tore every thing before it, ſtove in the ſteerage, carried away the rudder, ſhivered the wheel to pieces, and tore up the very ring-bolts of the deck---con-

veyed

veyed the men who ſtood at the wheel forward, and ſwept them overboard. I was ſtanding, at the time, near the wheel, and fortunately had hold of the taffarel, which enabled me to reſiſt in part the weight of the wave. I was, however, ſwept off my feet, and daſhed againſt the main-maſt. The jerk from the taffarel, which I held very tenaciouſly, ſeemed as if it would have diſlocated my arms: however, it broke the impetus of my motion, and in all probability ſaved me from being daſhed to pieces againſt the maſt.

I floundered about in the water at the foot of the maſt, till at length I got on my feet, and ſeized a rope, which I held in a ſtate of great embarraſſment, dubious what I ſhould do to extricate myſelf. At this inſtant I perceived that Mr. HALL had got upon the capſtern, and was waving his hand to me to follow his example: this I wiſhed to do, though it was an enterpriſe of ſome riſk and difficulty; for, if I loſt the hold I had, a ſingle motion of the veſſel, or a full wave, would certainly carry me overboard. I made a bold puſh, however, and fortunately accompliſhed it. Having attained this ſtation, I could the better ſurvey the wreck, and ſaw that the water was nearly breaſt-high on the quarter-deck, (for the veſſel was deep-waiſted); and I perceived the unfortunate Engliſh Purſer ſtanding where the water was moſt ſhallow, as if watching with patient expectation its riſing, and awaiting death: I called to him to come to us, but he ſhook his head in deſpair, and ſaid, in a lamentable tone, "It is all over with us! GOD have mercy upon us!"

us!"---then ſeated himſelf with ſeeming compoſure on a chair which happened to be rolling about in the wreck of the deck, and in a few minutes afterwards was waſhed into the ſea along with it, where he was ſpeedily releaſed from a ſtate ten thouſand times worſe than death.

During this univerſal wreck of things, the horror I was in could not prevent me from obſerving a very curious circumſtance, which at any other time would have excited laughter, though now it produced no other emotion than ſurpriſe---We happened to be in part laden with mangoes, of which the iſland of Goa is known to produce the fineſt in the world; ſome of them lay in baſkets on the poop: a little black boy, in the moment of greateſt danger, had got ſeated by them, devouring them voraciouſly, and crying all the time moſt bitterly at the horrors of his ſituation!

The veſſel now got completely water-logged; and Mr. HALL and I were employed in forming conjectural calculations how many minutes ſhe could keep above water, and conſoling one another on the unfortunate circumſtances under which we met---lamenting that fate had thus brought us acquainted only to make us witneſſes of each other's miſery, and then to ſee one another no more.

As the larboard ſide of the veſſel was gradually going down, the deck, and of courſe the capſtern, became too nearly perpendicular for us to continue on it: we therefore foreſaw the neceſſity of quitting it, and got upon the ſtarboard ſide, holding faſt by the gunnel.

ael, and allowing our bodies and legs to yield to the ſea as it broke over us. Thus we continued for ſome time: at length the ſeverity of the labour ſo entirely exhauſted our ſtrength and ſpirits, that our beſt hope ſeemed to a ſpeedy concluſion to our painful death; and we began to have ſerious intentions of letting go our hold, and yielding ourſelves up at once to the fury of the waves.

The veſſel, which all this time drifted with the ſea and wind, gradually approximated the ſhore, and at length ſtruck the ground, which for an inſtant revived our almoſt departed hopes; but we ſoon found that it did not in the ſmalleſt degree better our ſituation---Again I began to yield to utter deſpair---again I thought of letting go my hold, and ſinking at once: It is impoſſible, thought I, ever to eſcape---why, then, prolong, for a few minutes, a painful exiſtence that muſt at laſt be given up? Yet, yet, the all-ſubduing love of life ſuggeſted, that many things apparently impoſſible had come to paſs; and I ſaid to myſelf, If life is to be loſt, why not loſe it in a glorious ſtruggle? Should I ſurvive it by accident, life will be rendered doubly ſweet to me, and I ſtill more worthy of it by perſevering fortitude.

While I was employed in this train of reflection, I perceived ſome of the people collecting together, talking, and holding a conſultation---It immediately occurred to me, that they were deviſing ſome plan for eſcaping from the wreck, and getting on ſhore: and, ſo natural is it for Man to cling to his fellow-creature for ſupport in difficult or dangerous exigences, I propoſed to

Mr.

Mr. HALL to join them, and take a ſhare in the execution of the plan---obſerving to him at the ſame time, that I was determined at all events to quit the veſſel, and truſt to the protection and guidance of a ſuperintending Providence for the reſt.

LETTER XLVI.

As prodigality of life is, in ſome caſes, the exceſs of virtue and courage---ſo there are others in which it is vice, meanneſs and cowardice. True courage is, according to the circumſtances under which it is to operate, as rigidly tenacious and vigilant of life in one caſe, as it is indifferent and regardleſs in another; and I think it is a very ſtrange contradiction in the human heart (although it often happens), that a man who has the moſt unbounded courage, in ſeeking death even in the cannon's mouth, ſhall yet want the neceſſary reſolution to make exertions to ſave his life in caſes of ordinary danger. The unfortunate Engliſh Purſer could not collect courage ſufficient to make an effort to ſave himſelf; and yet I think it probable that he would have faced a battery of artillery, or expoſed himſelf to a piſtol-ſhot, if occaſion required, as ſoon as any other man. Thus it appears at firſt view: but may not this ſeeming incongruity be explained by ſaying, that

perſonal courage and fortitude are different qualities of the mind and body, and depend upon the exerciſe of entirely different functions?

Be that as it may, I argued with myſelf, in the height of my calamitous ſituation, upon the ſubject of fortitude and dejection, courage and cowardice; and, notwithſtanding the ſerious aſpect of affairs, found myſelf liſtening to the ſuggeſtions of pride: What a paltry thing to yield, while ſtrength is left to ſtruggle! Vanity herſelf had her hint, and whiſpered, "Should I eſcape by an effort of my own, what a glorious theme of exultation!" There were, I confeſs, tranſitory images in my mind, which, co-operating with the natural attachment to ſelf-preſervation, made me perſevere, and reſolve to do ſo, while one veſtige of hope was left for the mind to dwell on.

Obſerving, as I told you before, the people conſulting together, and reſolving to join them, I made an effort to get to the lee ſhrouds, where they were ſtanding, or rather clinging; but before I could accompliſh it, I loſt my hold, fell down the hatchway (the gratings having been carried away with the long-boat), and was for ſome minutes entangled there amongſt a heap of packages, which the violent fluctuations of the water had collected on the lee ſide. As the veſſel moved with the ſea, and the water flowed in, the packages and I were rolled together---ſometimes one, ſometimes another, uppermoſt; ſo that I began to be apprehenſive I ſhould not be able to extricate myſelf: by the mereſt accident, however, I graſped ſomething that lay in my way, made a vigorous ſpring, and gained the lee ſhrouds. Mr. HALL,

who,

who followed me, in ſeizing the ſhrouds, came thump againſt me with ſuch violence that I could ſcarcely retain my hold of the rigging. Compelled by the perilous ſituation in which I ſtood, I called out to him for GOD's ſake to keep off, for that I was rendered quite breathleſs and worn out: he generouſly endeavoured to make way for me, and, in doing ſo, unfortunately loſt his hold, and went down under the ſhip's ſide. Never, never ſhall I forget my ſenſations at this melancholy incident---I would have given millions of worlds that I could have recalled the words which made him move; my mind was wound up to the laſt pitch of anguiſh: I may truly ſay, that this was the moſt bitter of all the bitter moments of my life, compared with which the other circumſtances of the ſhipwreck ſeemed leſſened---for I had inſenſibly acquired an unuſual eſteem and warm attachment for him, and was doubtful whether, after being even the innocent occaſion of his falling, I ought to take further pains to preſerve my own life. All thoſe ſenſations were paſſing with the rapidity of lightning through my thoughts, when, as much to my aſtoniſhment as to my joy, I ſaw him borne by a returning wave, and thrown among the very packages from which I had but juſt before, with ſuch labour and difficulty, extricated myſelf---In the end he proved equally fortunate, but after a much longer and harder ſtruggle, and after ſuſtaining much more injury.

I once more changed my ſtation, and made my way to the poop, where I found myſelf rather more ſheltered---I earneſtly

wiſhed Mr. HALL to be with me, whatever might be my ultimate fate---and beckoned to him to come to me; but he only anſwered by ſhaking his head, in a feeble, deſponding manner---ſtaring at the ſame time wildly about him: even his ſpirit was ſubdued; and deſpair, I perceived, had begun to take poſſeſſion of his mind.

Being a little more at eaſe in my new ſtation than I had been before, I had more time to deliberate, and more power to judge. I recollected, that, according to the courſe of time, the day was far gone, and the night quickly approaching: I reflected, that for any enterprize whatſoever, day was much preferable to night; and above all I conſidered, that the veſſel could not hold long together---I therefore thought, that the beſt mode I could adopt would be, to take to the water with the firſt boyant thing I could ſee; and, as the wind and water both ſeemed to run to the ſhore, to take my chance in that way of reaching it. In purſuance of this reſolution, I tore off my ſhirt, having before that thrown off the other parts of my dreſs---I looked at my ſleeve buttons, in which was ſet the hair of my departed children---and, by an involuntary act of the imagination, aſked myſelf the queſtion, "Shall I be happy enough to meet them where I am now about to go?---ſhall thoſe dear laſt remains, too, become a prey to the devouring deep?"--- In that inſtant, reaſon, ſuſpended by the horrors of the ſcene, gave way to inſtinct; and I rolled my ſhirt up, and very carefully thruſt it into a hole between decks, with the wild hopes that the ſleeve buttons might yet eſcape untouched. Watching my oppor-

tunity,

tunity, I ſaw a log of wood floating near the veſſel, and, waving my hand to Mr. HALL as a laſt adieu, jumped after it. Here, again, I was doomed to aggravated hardſhips---I had ſcarcely touched the log when a great ſea ſnatched it from my hold: ſtill as it came near me, I graſped at it ineffectually, till at laſt it was completely carried away, but not before it had cut and battered and bruiſed me in ſeveral places, and in a manner that at any other time I ſhould have thought dreadful.

Death ſeemed inevitable; and all that occurred to me now to do, was to accelerate it, and get out of its pangs as ſpeedily as poſſible; for, though I knew how to ſwim, the tremendous ſurf rendered ſwimming uſeleſs, and all hope from it would have been ridiculous. I therefore began to ſwallow as much water as poſſible; yet, ſtill riſing by the boyant principle of the waves to the ſurface, my former thoughts began to recur; and whether it was that, or natural inſtinct, which ſurvived the temporary impreſſions of deſpair, I know not---but I endeavoured to ſwim, which I had not done long, when I again diſcovered the log of wood I had loſt floating near me, and with ſome difficulty caught it: hardly had it been an inſtant in my hands, when, by the ſame unlucky means, I loſt it again. I had often heard it ſaid in Scotland, that if a man will throw himſelf flat on his back in the water, lie quite ſtraight and ſtiff, and ſuffer himſelf to ſink till the water gets into his ears, he will continue to float ſo for ever: this occurred to me now, and I determined to try the experiment;

ſo

ſo I threw myſelf on my back in the manner I have deſcribed, and left myſelf to the diſpoſal of Providence; nor was I long till I found the truth of the ſaying---for I floated with hardly an effort, and began for the firſt time to conceive ſomething like hopes of preſervation.

After lying in this manner, committed to the diſcretion of the tides, I ſoon ſaw the veſſel---ſaw that it was at a conſiderable diſtance behind me. Livelieſt hope began to play about my heart, and joy fluttered with a thouſand gay fancies in my mind: I began to form the favourable concluſion, that the tide was carrying me rapidly to land from the veſſel, and that I ſhould ſoon once more touch *terra firma*.

This expectation was a cordial that revived my exhauſted ſpirits: I took courage, and left myſelf ſtill to the ſame all-directing Power that had hitherto preſerved me, ſcarcely doubting that I ſhould ſoon reach the land. Nor was I miſtaken; for, in a ſhort time more, without effort or exertion, and without once turning from off my back, I found myſelf ſtrike againſt the ſandy beach. Overjoyed, as you may well ſuppoſe, to the higheſt pitch of tranſport at my providential deliverance, I made a convulſive ſpring, and ran up a little diſtance on the ſhore; but was ſo weak and worn down by fatigue, and ſo unable to clear my ſtomach of the ſalt water with which it was loaded, that I ſuddenly grew deadly ſick, and apprehended that I had only exchanged one death for another; and in a minute or two fainted away.

LETTER

LETTER XLVII.

THAT admirable man, and ſagacious penetrating philoſopher, Dr. FRANKLIN, has left us, among innumerable inſtructions for the conduct of human life, and for remedying many of the grievances of it, directions for going a voyage at ſea, and has particularly enforced the folly of quitting ſhips haſtily, and yielding one's ſelf up to deſpair. I am convinced, that nine tenths of the people who periſh by ſhipwreck, periſh from the want of preſence of mind, and ſufficient fortitude to bear them out. The unhappy Purſer, who ſat deliberately in a chair, and ſuffered himſelf, without a ſtruggle, to be carried overboard, is an inſtance in point. The feeble conduct of the Captain and Crew is another. Had he, inſtead of tearing his hair, raving, and acting the part of a bedlamite, encouraged his men, and taken vigorous meaſures in time; and had they, inſtead of whimpering prayers on their knees, and whipping their images, made all clear, and prepared for the worſt; in ſhort, had they, according to the moral of the old fable, put their ſhoulder to the wheel, inſtead of calling on Hercules, it is not impoſſible but the veſſel might have been ſaved.

As for my part, the joy of eſcaping immediate death made me blind to the other miſeries of my ſituation. Naked, moneyleſs and friendleſs, upon an unknown, and probably inhoſpitable coaſt, what reaſonable cauſe had I to rejoice? Perhaps the reverſe. But that remains to be ſeen.

How long I continued in the ſwoon into which I had fallen, it is impoſſible for me to tell; but, when I recovered, I found myſelf ſurrounded by a guard of armed ſoldiers, ſepoys, and pikemen. I knew them immediately to be the troops of HYDER ALLI, and almoſt wiſhed myſelf back into the waves again. Looking round, I ſaw that the people and effects that had been ſaved from the wreck were collected all together along with me.

In this ſtate we remained till it was dark. A Laſcar * belonging to the veſſel, perceiving that my nakedneſs gave me great concern, tore into two a piece of cloth which he had tied round his waiſt, and gave me one part of it, which afforded a ſhort apron. This ſimple act of a poor, uninformed black man, whom Chriſtian charity would call an idolator, methought had more of the true and eſſential ſpirit of charity in it, than half the oſtentatious, parading newſpaper public charities of London---the ſlough of purſe-proud vanity, and unwieldy bloated wealth. Of all the acts of beneficence that I ever met with, it ſtruck me the moſt forcibly: it had kindneſs, diſintereſtedneſs and delicacy for its baſis; and I have never

* Natives of India, employed ſometimes as ſailors, ſometimes for inferior offices in the army, ſuch as pitching tents, drawing guns, &c.

never ſince thought of it without wiſhing that I could meet the man, to reward him for his beneficence with a ſubſiſtence for life. The lower order of people of a certain Country, I know, would think a man in ſuch circumſtances as I was then in, a fitter object of pleaſantry than pity.

The vaſt quantity of ſalt water I had ſwallowed, ſtill made me deadly ſick in the ſtomach: however, after ſome time, I threw it up, and got great relief. I had hardly felt the comfortable effects of this, before I was ordered to march: nine of us, all Laſcars except myſelf, were conveyed to a village at a few miles diſtance on the ſea-ſide, where we were for the night put into a ſquare place, walled round, open to the inclemency of the weather above and below, and filled with large logs of wood; it blew moſt violently, and the rain fell in torrents---while not one ſmooth plank could be found on which to ſtretch our fatigued and waſted bodies. Thus, naked, ſick, exhauſted with fatigue and faſting, drenched with wet, and unable to lie down, our miſery might be ſuppoſed to be incapable of increaſe. But, alas! where are the bounds which we can ſet to human woe?---Thirſt, that moſt dreadful of pains, occaſioned by the drenching with ſalt water, ſeized us: we begged, we entreated, we clamoured for water; but the inhuman wretches, deaf to the groans and ſcreeches of their fellow-creatures, (for ſome grew delirious with the agony of thirſt), refuſed them even the cheap and miſerable indulgence of a drop of water!

The influence of the mind upon the body has been much inſiſted on by philoſophers and phyſicians, and I believe will be admitted by all wiſe men. I was myſelf, in this inſtance, a ſtriking proof of it; for, though I had ſwallowed and thrown up ſo much ſalt water, and though my thirſt had exceeded any thing I had ever before felt---yet, finding that water was not to be had or expected, I compoſed my mind to do without it, diverted my thoughts from it by the contemplation of the many other evils which beſet me, and paſſed the night without that horrible agony experienced by the others.

Indeed, a night of more exquiſite horror cannot be imagined. The thoughts of being a priſoner to HYDER ALLI, was, of itſelf, ſufficient to render me completely unhappy: but my utter want of clothes almoſt put me beſide myſelf; and lying expoſed to the open air, where I was glad to ſit cloſe to the Laſcars to receive a little heat from their bodies, and to hold open my mouth in order to catch a drop of the deſcending rain, was a ſtate that might be conſidered as the higheſt refinement upon miſery.

About four o'clock in the morning, a little cold rice was brought us to eat, and water was dug out of a hole near the ſpot for us; but as all things in this life are good or bad merely relatively, this wretched fare was ſome refreſhment to us. I was then removed to the ruins of a toddy-hut,* ſeparated from the reſt,

* A ſmall temporary hut, where *toddy* (a liquor extracted from the cocoa-nut tree) is ſold.

reſt, and a guard ſet over me. Here I had full room for reflection, and could "meditate e'en to madneſs." The whole of my ſituation appeared before me with all its aggravating circumſtances of horror; and to any one who conſiders it, I believe it will appear that it was hardly poſſible to fill the bitter cup of calamity fuller. Oh! what were my thoughts! My family bereft of him on whoſe efforts they were in a great meaſure to depend for ſupport and protection---you, then a little innocent cherub, appeared to my diſtracted imagination twining round your mother's neck, and, in infant clamour, calling your father---while he, in a dreadful captivity, compared with which even a cruel death were mercy, lay waſting, naked and forlorn, periſhing with the inclemency of the weather, wanting even food fit for his ſupport, and expoſed to the ſcourge of every petty tyrant that barbarous power might employ to guard him!---Such were my reflections; they were in reaſon well founded; for there was no probability of my being ever releaſed, as my captivity was unlikely to be known to my Country, or by my friends.

In this ſtate I was, when, to my utter aſtoniſhment, and to my no leſs joy, the amiable companion of my ſhipwreck, Mr. HALL, appeared before me. I ſcarcely knew how to think his appearance reality, as I underſtood that the Laſcars then along with me were all that were ſaved from the wreck; and he was, at the time I parted from him, ſo exhauſted both in body and mind, that I thought he would be the laſt who could eſcape. He, however,

ſhook me by the hand; and, ſitting down, told me that he had given me up for loſt, and remained with the veſſel until the tide, having ebbed, left her almoſt dry---that, immediately on getting aſhore, and being taken priſoner, he made inquiries about me, and heard that I had been ſaved---that, finding this, his joy was ſuch as to make him almoſt forget his own misfortunes---and, exerting all his entreaties not to be ſeparated from me, they had been ſo far indulgent to him, and had brought him to me, that we might be companions in bondage. He added, that out of eleven Europeans and fifty-ſix Laſcars who were on board, only he and I of the former, and fourteen of the latter, were ſaved from the wreck, the reſt having been drowned in the attempt, excepting ſome who, overcome with terror, anguiſh and anxiety, and exhauſted with fatigue, had bid a formal adieu to their companions, let go their hold, and calmly and voluntarily given themſelves up to the deep.

I here took occaſion to remark to him, what I have already ſaid to you, that thouſands loſe their lives for want of perſeverance, fortitude, and courage, to preſerve them---Had the Engliſh Purſer collected courage enough to hold faſt till the tide ebbed, he might have been ſafe on ſhore as we were, as he was ſuperior to either of us in bodily ſtrength.

"Ah! my friend!" ſaid he, ſhaking his head deſpondingly--- "is he worſe where he is? I doubt whether death is not far preferable to our preſent proſpects."

"Come,

" Come, come," ſaid I, perceiving he was melancholy, though I myſelf laboured under all the horrors he expreſſed--- " come, let us not think; all will yet be well: I foreſee it will; and you muſt know I have ſomething of the prophet in my nature --perhaps the ſecond ſight." I then told him my preſentiments on leaving Goa, which much aſtoniſhed him---ſtill more when I acquainted him with the formal acts I had done in conſequence thereof, by Mr. HENSHAW's advice, and with his privity.

In fact, our joy at meeting was reciprocally great, and in ſome reſpect cheered us for the time under all our miſeries in hand, and the dreary proſpect of thoſe yet to come.

Perceiving that he ſtood as much in need of relief as I did when the Laſcar relieved me by dividing his cloth, I took mine off, tore it in two, and gave him half of it: you may well conceive our miſery from this, if other circumſtances were wanting, that ſuch a thing as a rag of linen, not worth ſix pence, was a very material accommodation to us both.

LETTER

LETTER XLVIII.

YOUR Letter, occaſioned by the account of my ſhipwreck and ſubſequent diſaſter, gave me, my amiable boy! as great pleaſure as thoſe diſaſters gave me pain. Your account, too, of JOHN's burſting into tears on the reading of it to him, had almoſt a ſimilar effect upon myſelf: and I truſt in the Almighty Diſpoſer of Events, that that excellent turn of mind will be ſo faſhioned by the education I give you, as to make it the ſource of boundleſs gratification and true greatneſs (by which I mean goodneſs) here, and of never-fading felicity hereafter. You ſay you cannot account for it, but you found more happineſs at my eſcape, than miſery at my misfortunes. I hail that circumſtance as the ſtrongeſt mark of perfect excellence of diſpoſition. A great Moral Philoſopher has laid it down as a maxim, that it is the ſurer mark of a good heart to ſympathiſe with joy than with ſorrow; and this inſtance only comes in aid of that opinion of you which my fond hopes have always nouriſhed.

At the ſame time I muſt declare to you, that my pleaſure at eſcaping ſhipwreck was by no means as great as the agony my mind underwent at the proſpect now before me was poignant. I have

have already ſaid, and indeed with truth, that I ſhould have with much greater pleaſure embraced death: I, who had been already ſome years in India, and had opportunities of hearing, as well from my Father as from other Officers in the Service, what the diſpoſition of the Tyrant in whoſe power I had now fallen was, knew too well the horrors of my ſituation to feel any thing like hope. The unmerciful diſpoſition of HYDER, and all thoſe in authority under him, and the cruel policy of the Eaſtern Chiefs, making the life of any one, particularly a Britiſh priſoner, at the beſt a precarious tenure, I did not know the moment when death might be inflicted upon me with perhaps a thouſand aggravating circumſtances: and at all events, the affairs which demanded my preſence in India ſo very importunately as to urge me to all the fatigues and hardſhips of a paſſage over land, were, of themſelves, ſufficient to make my mind uneaſy; but the abject ſtate of want and nakedneſs in which it ſeemed I was likely to remain, ſtruck a deep and damp horror to my heart, and almoſt unman'd me.

Mr. HALL and I, however, endeavoured with all our might to ſtem the headlong torrent of our fate---Melancholy preyed deeply and openly upon him, while I concealed mine, and endeavoured to cheer the ſinking ſpirits of that noble youth, who, I perceived, was the prey rather of extreme ſenſibility than feebleneſs of mind. All the horrors of ſhivering nakedneſs, though, to a mind delicate like his, and a perſon reared in the lap of luxury, ſufficiently goading, appeared as nothing when compared with one

loſs

loſs he had ſuſtained in the depredations with which ſhipwreck is conſtantly followed up. In the cruel ſuſpenſe between life and death, which I have already deſcribed, previous to my getting on ſhore, this amiable young man had ſecured and treaſured next his heart, as the inſeparable companion of his fate, a miniature portrait of a young Lady: it hung round his neck, and was, by the unfeeling villains who ſeized him on his landing, taken away. This cruel deprivation was an inceſſant corroſive to his mind---the copious ſource of anguiſh to his heart---the hourly theme of the moſt pathetic, afflicting exclamations. "Had I," he would cry, "oh! had I had but the good fortune to have gone to the bottom while yet it hung about my neck, I ſhould have been happy: but now, ſeparated from the heavenly original, and bereft of the precious image, what is life? what would be life were I yet ſure of it? What pleaſure, what common content, has the world left for me? None---oh! none, none! Never ſhall this heart again know comfort!"

I did every thing I could to conſole him, and, as far as I could, prevent him from dwelling on thoſe gloomy ſubjects. Our converſations were intereſting and pathetic; but, alas! the picture, at every pauſe, chaſed away the ſlight impreſſions of the preceding converſe: no ſufferings of the body could countervail that loſs---no conſolation mitigate it; and amidſt the horrid reflections which unparalleled calamity impoſed upon his mind, the loſs of that

one

one dear relic roſe paramount to all---and as every thought began, ſo it ended, with the picture.

For ſome days we lay in this place, expoſed to the weather, without even the ſlender comfort of a little ſtraw to cover the ground beneath us---our food, boiled rice, ſerved very ſparingly twice a-day by an old woman, who juſt threw a handful or more of it to each upon a very dirty board, which we devoured with thoſe ſpoons Nature gave us.

At the end of that time, we, and, along with us, the Laſcars, were ordered to proceed into the country, and drove on foot to a conſiderable diſtance, in order to render up an account of ourſelves to perſons belonging to Government, authoriſed to take it. It was advanced in the morning when we moved, without receiving any ſort of ſuſtenance; and were marched in that waſting climate eight hours, without breaking our faſt; during which time we were expoſed alternately to the ſcorching heat of the ſun and heavy torrents of rain, which raiſed painful bliſters on our ſkin: we had often to ſtand expoſed to the weather, or to lie down, under the preſſure of fatigue and weakneſs, on the bare ground; then wait an hour, or more, at the door of ſome inſolent, unfeeling monſter, until he finiſhed his dinner, or took his afternoon's nap; and when this was over, drove forward with wanton barbarity by the people who attended us.

You, my FREDERICK! who only know the mild and merciful diſpoſition of the People of Great Britain, where govern-

ment, religion, and long habit, have reduced charity and benevolence ſo completely to a ſyſtem that they ſeem to be innate principles of the mind, can have no conception of a People who will not only look upon the worſt human afflictions with indifference, but take a ſavage delight in the miſeries of their fellow-creatures, even where no poſſible advantage can be reaped from their inhumanity, and where the only reward they can propoſe to themſelves for their cruelty is the pleaſure of contemplating human ſufferings.

Such, ſorry am I to ſay it, is the diſpoſition of ſome parts of the Eaſt Indies that I have been in: and although thoſe parts under the dominion of Great Britain owe their emancipation from the moſt galling yokes to the Engliſh---and though, under their auſpices, they live in a ſtate of greater happineſs than ever they did, and greater freedom even than Britons themſelves---yet ſuch is the wicked ingratitude of many of them, ſuch the inflexible animoſity ariſing from a contradictory religion, that the death or ſuffering of an Engliſhman, or any misfortune that may befal him, often ſerves only as matter of ſport or amuſement to them. It would be well if it reſted there---but unfortunately they are worſe again; for in general they have the like coldneſs and indifference, or indeed, to ſpeak more properly, the like averſion, to each other's good; and the ſame diabolical principles of ſelfiſhneſs and treachery pervade the greater number in thoſe vaſt regions, almoſt boundleſs in extent, and almoſt matchleſs in fertility.

Two

Two days after this, we were moved again, and marched up the country by a long and circuitous route, in which we underwent every hardſhip that cruelty could inflict, or human fortitude endure---now bliſtered with the heat, now drenched with the rain, and now chilled with the night damps---deſtitute of any place but the bare earth to reſt or lay our heads on, with only a ſcanty pittance of boiled rice for our ſupport---often without water to quench our thirſt, and conſtantly goaded by the guards, who pricked us with their bayonets every now and then, at once to evince their power, entertain the ſpectators, and mortify us. We arrived at Hydernagur, the metropolis of the province of Biddanore---a fort of conſiderable ſtrength, mounting upwards of ſeventy guns, containing a large garriſon of men, and poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth.

It was about two o'clock in the morning when we arrived at Biddanore: the day was extremely hot, and we were kept out under the full heat of that broiling ſun till ſix o'clock in the evening, before we were admitted to an audience of the Jemadar, or Governor of the place, without having a mouthful of victuals offered to us after the fatiguing march of the morning.

While we ſtood in this forlorn ſtate, a vaſt concourſe of people collected about, and viewed us with curioſity. Looking round through thoſe who ſtood neareſt, I obſerved ſome men gazing at me with ſtrong marks of emotion, and a mixture of wonder and concern pourtrayed in their countenances. Surpriſed to ſee ſuch ſymptoms of humanity in a Myſorian Indian, I looked at them

with more ſcrutinizing attention, and thought that their faces were familiar to me. Catching my eye, they looked at me ſignificantly, as though they would expreſs their regard and reſpect for me, if they dared; and I then began to recollect that they were formerly privates in my regiment of cavalry, and were then priſoners at large with HYDER.

I was not leſs ſurpriſed that thoſe poor fellows ſhould recogniſe me in my preſent miſerable fallen ſtate, than affected at the ſympathetic feeling they diſcloſed. I returned their look with a private nod of recognition; but, ſeeing that they were afraid to ſpeak to me, and fearing I might injure them by diſcloſing our acquaintance, I forbore any thing more. The guilty ſouls of deſpotic Governments are perpetually alive to ſuſpicion: every look alarms them; and alarm or ſuſpicion never fails to be followed up with proſcription or death.

Men, when in the fullneſs of power and pride of office, very ſeldom give themſelves time to reflect upon the inſtability of human greatneſs, and the uncertainty of earthly contingencies. When, inveſted with all the trappings of authority, I commanded the regiment to which thoſe poor fellows belonged, I would have thought that he ſpoke wildly indeed who would have alledged that it was poſſible I could ever become an object of their pity---that I ſhould ſtand naked and degraded before them, and they be afraid to acknowledge me: but, though I ſhould have thought ſo then, it was yet ſome comfort to me, when that unfortunate

event

event did come to paſs, to reflect, that, when in power, I made ſuch uſe of it as to excite emotions in their boſoms of affection and reſpect. Did the tyrant and overbearing inſolent Chiefs conſider this, and govern themſelves by its inſtructions, they would go into the field with the conſoling reflection, that no gun would be levelled at their head except that of the common enemy---a thing that does not always happen.

LETTER XLIX.

HAD we been made priſoners of war in battle againſt an enemy, there is no law of Nature or Nations, no rule of reaſon or principle of equity, that could palliate ſuch treatment as that which we now received: but, caſt by misfortune and ſhipwreck on their ſhore, we were entitled to ſolace and protection. The worſt wretches who hang out falſe beacons on the Weſtern Coaſts of England, to allure ſhips to their deſtruction, would not be cruel without temptation; and, if they did not expect to gain ſome profit by it, would rather decline knocking their fellow-creatures in the head: but thoſe barbarians, without any profit but what a malignant heart derives from the miſeries of others, or any pleaſure

but

but what proceeds from their pain, exerciſed upon us the moſt wanton cruelty. Compared with ſuch treatment, inſtant death would have been an act of mercy to us; and we ſhould have had reaſon to bleſs the hand that inflicted it.

Mortifications of one ſort or other---the inceſſant torturing of the mind on the rack of ſuſpenſe---the injuries to the animal ſyſtem, occaſioned by conſtant expoſure to the weather, and the want of food---all conſpired to reduce me to the dimenſions and feebleneſs of a ſkeleton. I had grown daily weaker and weaker, and was now nearly exhauſted, and quite faint; while, on the other hand, my amiable companion in affliction was reduced by a dyſentery, which attacked him ſoon after our ſhipwreck, and which the torments of his mind, the want of medicine and comfortable food, and, above all, the alternate violent changes from profuſe perſpiration in walking to chilling cold at night, had increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, that he was obliged to be carried the two laſt days journey: ---In this ſtate, we appeared to each other as two ſpectres hanging over the brink of the grave: and in truth, perceiving the rapid progreſs he was making to his diſſolution, I was affected to a degree, that, while it really exaſperated my own worn-down ſtate, deprived me of all attention to the rapid decline I was falling into, and almoſt entirely engroſſed my care. In my progreſs through life, I have had occaſion to try ſeveral men, and have found among them many who were every thing that a good heart could wiſh to find: but this young Gentleman had at once ſo much ſuavity

and

and ſpirit---ſuch gentleneſs and fortitude---his ſufferings (thoſe of his mind, as well as thoſe of his body) were ſo exquiſite, and he bore them with ſuch meekneſs, tempered by ſuch uninterrupted good humour, and concealed and managed with ſo much delicacy, that I do not tranſgreſs the bounds of truth when I ſay I never met one who ſo entirely intereſted my feelings, and attached my friendſhip ſo unalterably, upon principles of inſtinctive impulſe, as well as reaſon. Impelled by the irreſiſtible claims he had upon my approbation and eſteem, I entered with all the warmth of a brother into his ſufferings, and can aſſert with truth that they conſtituted the ſevereſt trials I underwent during my whole impriſonment.

While we ſtood in the court, waiting to be brought before the Jemadar, we preſented a ſpectacle that would have wrung pity, one would think, from the heart of a tiger, if a tiger was endued with reflection. At length we were ſummoned to appear before him, and brought into his preſence. I had made up my mind for the occaſion---determined to deport myſelf in a manly, candid manner---and to let no conſideration whatſoever lead me to any thing diſgraceful to my real character, or unworthy my ſituation in life; and, finally, had prepared myſelf to meet, without ſhrinking, whatever misfortunes might yet be in ſtore for me, or whatever cruelties the barbarous diſpoſition or wicked policy of the Tyrant might think proper to inflict.

On

On entering, we found the Jemadar in full Durbar.* He was then occupied with the reading of diſpatches, and in tranſacting other public buſineſs. We were placed directly oppoſite to him, where we ſtood for near an hour, during which time he never caſt his eyes towards us: but when at laſt he had concluded the buſineſs in which he was engaged, and deigned to look at us, we were ordered to proſtrate ourſelves before him: the Laſcars immediately obeyed the order, and threw themſelves on the ground; but I contented myſelf with making a ſalam, in which poor Mr. HALL, who knew not the Eaſtern manner as I did, followed my example.

As ſoon as this ceremony was over, the Jemadar (who was no other man than the famous HYAT SAHIB that has made ſome noiſe in the hiſtory of that war) began to queſtion me. He deſired to know, who I was?---what my profeſſion was?---what was the cauſe and manner of my approaching the country of HYDER ALLI?---To all thoſe queſtions I gave anſwers that ſeemed to ſatisfy him. He then aſked me, what news I had brought with me from Europe?---inquired into the ſtate of the army, and number of recruits diſpatched in the ſhips of that ſeaſon---was minute and circumſtantial in his queſtions reſpecting the nature and ſucceſs of the war in Europe---and examined me cloſely, touching the reſources of the Eaſt India Company. I ſaw his drift, and was cautious and circumſpect in my anſwers, and at the ſame time contrived

* Court.

ontrived to ſpeak with an air of candour that in ſome ſort ſatis-ed him.

Having exhauſted his whole ſtring of queſtions, he turned the diſcourſe to another ſubject---no leſs than his great and puiſſant Lord and Maſter, HYDER, of whom he had endeavoured to impreſs me with a great, if not terrible idea---amplifying his power, his wealth, and the extent and opulence of his dominions---and deſcribing to me, in the moſt exaggerated terms, the number of his troops---his military talents---his vaſt, and, according to his account, unrivalled genius---his amazing abilities in conquering and governing Nations---and, above all, his many amiable qualities, and ſplendid endowments of heart, no leſs than underſtanding.

Having thus, with equal zeal and fidelity, endeavoured to impreſs me with veneration for his Lord and Maſter, and for that purpoſe attributed to him every perfection that may be ſuppoſed to be divided among all the Kings and Generals that have lived ſince the birth of CHRIST, and given each their due, he turned to the Engliſh Government, and endeavoured to demonſtrate to me the folly and inutility of our attempting to reſiſt his progreſs, which he compared to that of the ſea, to a tempeſt, to a torrent, to a lion's pace and fury---to every thing that an Eaſtern imagination could ſuggeſt as a figure proper to exemplify grandeur and irreſiſtible power. He then vaunted of his Sovereign's ſucceſſes over the Engliſh, ſome of which I had not heard of before, and did not believe; and con-

cluded by aſſuring me, that it was HYDER's determination to drive all Europeans from Indoſtan, which he averred he could not fail to do, conſidering the weakneſs of the one, and boundleſs power of the other. This part of HYAT SAHIB's diſcourſe is well worth your remembering, as it will ſerve to make a very diverting contraſt with his ſubſequent conduct.

After having expended near half an hour in this manner, he called upon me to come over near him, and cauſed me to ſeat myſelf upon a mat with a pillow to lean upon---encouraged me, by every means he could, by the moſt gentle accents, and the moſt ſoothing, mollifying language, to ſpeak to him without the leaſt reſerve---exhorted me to tell him the truth in every thing we ſpoke of---and hinted to me, that my falling into his hands might turn out the moſt fortunate event of my life.

I was at a loſs to what motive to attribute all thoſe ſingular marks of indulgence; but found that he had learned whoſe ſon I was, and knew my father by reputation from the priſoners, our Sepoys, who were now priſoners at large here: and as rank and office are the chief recommendation in the Eaſt, as well as elſewhere, or rather much more than any where elſe, the ſagacious HYAT SAHIB found many claims to eſteem and humanity in me as the ſon of a Colonel CAMPBELL, which he never would have found in me had I been the ſon of a plain humble farmer or tradesman in England.

After

After a full hour's audience, in which HYAT SAHIB treated me with diſtinguiſhed marks of his favour, conſidering my ſituation, he diſmiſſed me with the ceremony of beetle-nut,* roſe-water, and other compliments, which are in that country held as the ſtrongeſt marks of politeneſs, reſpect, and good-will.

Leaving the Durbar, I was led to the inner fort or citadel: and the officious zeal of thoſe about me, unwilling to let me remain ignorant of that which they conceived to be a moſt fortunate turn in my affairs, gave the *coup de grace* to my miſeries as I went along, by congratulating me on the favourable opinion which the Jemadar had formed of me, and intimating at the ſame time that I would ſoon be honoured with a reſpectable command in HYDER's ſervice.

If I was miſerable before, this intimation entirely deſtroyed the laſt remnant of peace or hope. I was determined to die a thouſand deaths ſooner than ſerve any State hoſtile to Great Britain---but ſtill more a Tyrant, whoſe country, nature and principles I deteſted, and could never think of without the greateſt horror; and I judged, that if ſuch an offer ſhould be made, and I refuſed it, my life would fall a ſacrifice to their rage and diſappointment, or at leaſt I ſhould live a life of impriſonment, and never more behold country, family, friends, connections, or any thing that I valued in life.

* An aromatic nut which the Eaſt Indians chew: it is warm and aſtringent, and conſidered by them a great reſtorative.

That night the Jemadar ſent me an excellent ſupper, of not leſs than ſix diſhes, from his own table; and although I had been ſo long famiſhing with the want of wholeſome food, the idea of being enliſted in the ſervice of HYDER ſtruck me with ſuch horror, that I loſt all appetite, and was ſcarcely able to eat a mouthful. Mr. HALL and I, however, were ſeparated from the Laſcars, who were releaſed, and forced to work.

Notwithſtanding the favourable intentions manifeſted towards me by the Jemadar, as I have already mentioned, no mark of it whatſoever appeared in our lodging. This conſiſted of a ſmall place, exactly the ſize of our length and breadth, in the zig-zag of one of the gates of the citadel: it was open in front, but covered with a kind of a ſhed on the top; and a number of other priſoners were about us: each of us was allowed a mat and pillow, and this formed the whole of our local accommodations. Upon my remarking it, we were told, that in conformity to the cuſtom of the Circar,* we muſt be treated ſo for ſome time, but that our accommodations would afterwards be extended, and made more agreeable to our wiſhes: even this was better than our ſituation ſince we landed.

In addition to this luxury, we were allowed to the value of four pence halfpenny a day for our maintenance; and a guard of Sepoys was put over us and a few more priſoners, one of whom was directed to go and purchaſe our victuals, and do ſuch like offices for us.

This

* Country or Province.

This guard was changed every week---a ſtrong mark of the ſuſpicious and wary tempers of thoſe people, who could fear intrigues and cabals between wretched priſoners like us and their ſoldiers.

In two or three days after this, HYAT SAHIB ſent for me, treated me with great kindneſs, gave me ſome tea, and furniſhed me with two or three ſhirts, an old coat, and two pairs of breeches, which were ſtripped from the dead bodies that were thrown aſhore from the wreck---every thing that was ſaved from it being ſent to Bidanore. At this interview he treated me with great reſpect---gave me, beſides the articles already mentioned, thirty rupees---and, upon my going away, told me that in a few days a very flattering propoſal would be made to me, and that my ſituation would be rendered not only comfortable, but enviable.

It is impoſſible for me to expreſs to you, my dear FREDERICK! the horror I felt at the idea of this intended propoſal---for I knew but too well what it meant. It was the ſource of bitter miſery to my mind: nevertheleſs, I determined to reſiſt every effort that ſhould be made, whether blandiſhment, intreaty, or menace---to lay down my life itſelf, though in obſcurity, with honour---and to carry along with me, go where I would, the conſciouſneſs of having done my duty.

I have in the courſe of my life met with many people, who, under the plauſible pretext of liberality and greatneſs of mind, have called themſelves Citizens of the World, and declared that the

the Country where they lived, be that what Country it might, was their's, and demanded their allegiance and protection: but I have always ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that ſuch men act from a conſciouſneſs of being outcaſts of their own Country---and, ſcorned and rejected by their fellow-citizens, would retaliate by affecting to deny their natural attachment. There are men who neither love father, mother, ſiſter, brother, or connection: ſuch, however, are, thank GOD! very thinly ſown in this world; but, except it be a few ſuch unnatural people, I am convinced that there is no one whoſe heart does not confeſs the patriotic paſſion, and burn with a flame, more or leſs ardent, of love for his Country. My predilections that way are naturally ſtrong, and I am now happy to reflect that I evinced them by the moſt unequivocal proofs: had I not, I were indeed, in my own opinion, fit for any puniſhment, however ignominious; and to all ſuch as lift their arms againſt their Country, as to Parricides, I will ſay, in the words of the Poet,

" Never pray more—abandon all remorſe:
" On horror's head, horrors accumulate;
" Do deeds to make Heaven weep—all earth amaz'd;
" For nothing can'ſt thou to damnation add,
" Greater than that."

LETTER

LETTER L.

ON the evening of that day on which the Jemadar HYAT SAHIB had honoured me with an audience, given me clothes and money, and informed me that a propoſal, which he called flattering, would be made to me, I was ſent for to attend, not at the Durbar, but at the houſe of a man high in office. As I expected to meet HYAT SAHIB himſelf, and trembled at the thoughts of his expected propoſition, I was ſurpriſed, and indeed pleaſed, to find that it was with one of his people only I was to have a conference. This man, whoſe name I now forget, received me with great kindneſs, encouraged me, made me ſit down with him, and began to ſpeak of HYAT SAHIB, whom he extolled to the ſkies, as a perſon endowed with every great and amiable quality; informing me at the ſame time, that he was poſſeſſed of the friendſhip and confidence of his Maſter, HYDER ALLI, in a greater degree than any other perſon---TIPPOO SAHIB, his own ſon, not excepted: he then gave me the private hiſtory of HYAT---ſaying, that he was born a Gentoo Prince, of one of the provinces of the Malabar coaſt, which had fallen beneath the irreſiſtible arms of HYDER, and had been by him annexed to the vaſt Myſorean Empire.

pire. HYAT, he ſaid, was then only a boy of eleven or twelve years of age, of a moſt promiſing genius, and a quickneſs of mind unuſually met with in one of thoſe tender years. HYDER, who was in all reſpects a man of unrivalled penetration, thought he ſaw in the boy that which, if properly cultivated, would turn out of vaſt uſe to a State; and as, in all Mahomedan Governments, unconnected, iſolated boys, oft-times ſlaves, are bred up in the Seraglio to ſucceed to the great offices of the State, HYDER adopted the boy, had him made a Mahomedan, and, in fact, treated him as if he had been the iſſue of his own loins, and brought him up with all the affection and tenderneſs of a fond parent. I am the more particular in ſtating this part of HYAT's hiſtory to you, as ſome reſpectable Hiſtorians, deceived by erroneous report, have ſaid that he was the illegitimate offspring of HYDER. The Sultan, however, was not diſappointed in the expectations he had formed; for HYAT SAHIB had, in zeal, fidelity and attachment, as well as in intellectual faculties and talents for governing, even ſurpaſſed the warmeſt hopes of his Maſter.

Having given me this conciſe account of the Jemadar, he proceeded to inform me, that the Arcot Sepoys, whom I have before mentioned to you, had diſcovered to HYAT SAHIB who I was, given him a full account of my family, and informed him that I had commanded a regiment of cavalry in the ſervice of the Nabob of Arcot, together with a corps of infantry and artillery attached to it. In conſequence of this report, HYAT SAHIB, he ſaid, had intereſted

intereſted himſelf very warmly in my favour, and expreſſed an anxious deſire to render me a ſervice.

Thus far the diſcourſe pleaſed me. Nothing was ſaid in it to give me alarm; on the contrary, I indulged a hope, that, knowing my rank, and the rank of my father, he would no longer entertain a hope of my entering into the ſervice of HYDER, and, for the time I was to be impriſoned, treat me with ſuitable indulgence. But I flattered myſelf too ſoon; or, as the old ſaying is, "reckoned without my hoſt."

When he had finiſhed his hiſtory of HYAT SAHIB, which he overcharged with fulſome panegyric, he told me, with a face full of that triumphant importance which one who thinks he is conferring a great favour generally aſſumes, that it was the intention of HYAT SAHIB, for and on behalf of his maſter the Sultan, to give me the command of five thouſand men---an offer which he ſuppoſed I could not think of declining, and therefore expected no other anſwer but a profuſion of thanks, and ſtrong manifeſtations of joy on my part.

It is not poſſible for me to deſcribe to you my diſmay at this formal propoſal, or pourtray to you the various emotions that took poſſeſſion of my breaſt. Reſentment had its ſhare---the pride of the Soldier, not unaccompanied with the pride of Family and Rank, while it urged me to ſpurn from me ſuch a baſe accommodation, made me conſider the offer as a great inſult. I therefore pauſed a little, to ſuppreſs my feelings; and then told him my firm reſolu-

tion, never to accept of ſuch a propoſal; and upon his expreſſing great aſtoniſhment at my declining a ſtation ſo fraught with advantage, I laid down, in the beſt manner I could, my reaſons; and I muſt ſay, that he liſtened to all the objections I ſtarted with great patience; but, in the concluſion, ſaid he had little doubt of finding means to overcome my reluctance.

He diſmiſſed me for the preſent, and I returned to my priſon, where I related to my companion, Mr. HALL, every thing that paſſed between us: we canvaſſed the matter fully, and he agreed with me, that it was likely to turn out a moſt dreadful and cruel perſecution. It was on this occaſion that I firſt felt the truth of the principle, that perſecution never fails to be ſubverſive of its own end, and to promote that which it is intended to deſtroy. There is, in the human mind, an innate abhorrence of compulſion; and perſecution always gives new ſtrength and elaſticity to the ſoul; and at laſt, when ſtrained to its utmoſt extent, makes Man ſurmount difficulties which at firſt ſeem to be beyond the reach of humanity.

Piqued by the idea of perſecution, I began to feel a degree of enthuſiaſm which I was before a ſtranger to: I looked forward, with a kind of gloomy pleaſure, to the miſeries that brutal tyranny might inflict upon me, even to death itſelf; and already began to indulge the exultation of martyrdom. "No," ſaid I, "my dear HALL! never will I tarniſh the character of a Britiſh Soldier---never will I diſgrace my blood or my profeſſion---never ſhall an

act

act of mine ſully the pure fame of my revered Father---never ſhall any ſufferings of mine, however poignant, or worldly advantage, however ſeductive, tempt me to do that which his noble ſpirit would regard with horror or contempt. I may, and I foreſee I muſt be miſerable; but I never will be baſe or degenerate!" Indeed, I had wrought myſelf up to ſuch a pitch of firmneſs, that I am perſuaded the moſt exquiſite and refined cruelties which the ingenuity of an Iroquois Indian could have inflicted on my body, would have been utterly incapable of bending the ſtubborn temper of my mind.

The place in which we were lodged was ſituated in a way not very favourable to our feelings. Juſt within ſight of it, the Commandant of the citadel held a Court---by him yclep'd a Court of Juſtice---where the moſt ſhocking, barbarous cruelties were hourly exerciſed---moſt of them for the purpoſe of extorting money, and compelling the diſcovery of hidden, or ſuppoſitious hidden treaſures. Indeed, five ſixths of thoſe who ſuffered were of this deſcription; and the proceſs purſued was as artful as barbarous: they firſt began with careſſes, then proceeded to examination and croſs-examination, thence to threats, thence to puniſhment, and, finally, to the moſt cruel tortures.

Directly oppoſite to us, was impriſoned an unfortunate perſon, who had for years been a cloſe captive, and the ſport and ſubject of thoſe enormities. He was a man once of the higheſt rank in the Country where now he was a priſoner: for a ſeries of

years he had been Governor and ſole Manager of the whole province of Bidanore. This was during the reign of the laſt Rana, or Queen, whoſe family had been Sovereigns of the Country for time immemorial, till HYDER made a conqueſt of, and annexed it to his other uſurpations. Unfortunately for him, he was ſuppoſed to have amaſſed and ſecreted enormous treaſures, in conſequence of which he had already undergone the fiery ordeal of torture ſeveral times. He was ſuppoſed to have produced, from firſt to laſt, about fifteen lacks of pagodas; and then, in the courſe of eighteen months, was degraded gradually, from the high reſpect in which he was at firſt held, down to a moſt abject ſtate---threatened, flogged, puniſhed in a variety of ways, and, finally, put to the moſt cruel tortures. I myſelf ſaw him treated with the higheſt degree of reſpect, and afterwards brought to the loweſt ſtage of miſery and humiliation. One thing, however, I muſt not forget, is the fortitude with which he and all of them bore their puniſhment: it was truly heroic---indeed, beyond all belief. Nothing could ſurpaſs it, except the ſkill and inventive ingenuity which the barbarians exhibited in ſtriking out new modes of torture. My ſoul ſickened with horror at the ſight: the amiable HALL could worſe ſupport it than his own miſeries, and loſt all that fortitude, in his feeling for others' misfortunes, which he diſplayed in ſo unbounded a ſhare in his own: and often, very often, we found the rigour and ſeverity of our own ſituation utterly forgotten in our anguiſh and ſympathy for the ſufferings of others. Never ſhall

I forget it: never ſhall I think without horror of the accurſed policy and wicked tyranny of the Eaſtern Governments, where every ſenſe of humanity is extinguiſhed, and Man, more mercileſs than the tiger, riots in the blood of his fellow-creatures without cauſe.

Mr. HALL, notwithſtanding the various ſufferings both of mind and body which he had undergone, began to recruit, and get a little better; and this circumſtance, of itſelf, diffuſed a flow of ſpirits over me that contributed to my ſupport. We conſoled each other by every means we could deviſe---ſometimes indulging in all the luxury of woe---ſometimes rallying each other, and, with ill-diſſembled ſprightlineſs, calling on the Goddeſs EUPHROSYNE to come with her "*quirps and cranks, and wreathed ſmiles:*" but, alas! the mountain nymph, ſweet LIBERTY, was far away, and the Goddeſs ſhunned our abode. We however began to conceive that we might form a ſyſtem for our relief, and, by a methodical arrangement, entrench ourſelves from the aſſaults of grief: to this end, we formed ſeveral reſolutions, and entered into certain engagements---ſuch as, never to repine at our fate, *if we could*---to draw conſolation from the more dreadful lot of others, *if we could*; ---and to encourage hope---hope that comes to all; and, on the whole, to confine our converſation as much as poſſible to ſubjects of an agreeable nature: but theſe, like many other rules which we lay down for the conduct of life, were often broken by neceſſity, and left us to regret the fallibility of all human precautionary ſyſtems.

The

The youth and ſtrength of Mr. HALL was to the full as adequate as mine to the ſupport of any perſonal hardſhip: his intellectual powers were excellent, his temper incomparable, and his fortitude unparalleled; yet could I ſee, that ſomething more than appeared upon the ſurface wrought within him, and gnawed his heart with hidden pain. United as we were by ſentiment, as well as by parity of ſuffering, I felt for him too deeply, not to have an intereſting curioſity to know what it was that preyed upon his mind: we had now been, months together, fellow-ſufferers; and I thought myſelf not without ſome claim to his confidence--- I told him ſo, and deſired him to impart to me his ſtory; which he, with his accuſtomed ſuavity and condeſcenſion, agreed to--- aſſuring me that it was not ſuch a ſtory as could requite the trouble of hearing it, or intereſt any one but himſelf, or ſome very warm friend indeed: ſuch, however, he added, he took me to be; and, as ſuch, would tell it to me. I think it, however, worth relating, and will give it to you in his own words; and, though it be very ſhort, muſt defer the relation to another Letter.

LETTER

LETTER LI.

MR. HALL having, as I told you in my laſt, obligingly agreed to favour me with a relation of his ſtory, I now give it to you as nearly in his own words as I can remember them. He proceeded thus:

"Although you are now, my dear friend! a witneſs to my being the moſt perfectly wretched of all created beings, yet the time is not long paſt when fortune ſmiled upon and gave me promiſe of as much happineſs as Man in this wretched vale of tears is allowed by his circumſcribed nature to hope for. I have ſeen the time, when each revolving ſun roſe to uſher me to a day of joy, and ſet to conſign me to a night of undiſturbed repoſe---when the bounties of Nature, and the productions of Art, were poured with the profuſion of fond paternal affection into my lap---when troops of friends hailed my riſing proſpects---when health and peace made this perſon their uninterrupted abode---and when the moſt benignant love that ever bleſſed a mortal filled up the meaſure of my bliſs. Yes, CAMPBELL! it was once my happineſs, though now, alas! the ſource of poignant miſery, to be bleſſed with the beſt

parents

parents that ever watched over the welfare of a child---with friends, too, who loved me, and whom my heart cheriſhed---and ---O GOD! do I think of her, and yet retain my ſenſes---with the affections of a young lady, than whom Providence, in the fullneſs of its power and bounty to Mankind, never formed one more lovely, one more angelic in perſon, more heavenly in diſpoſition, more rich in intellectual endowments. Alas! my friend, will you, can you pardon thoſe warm ebullitions of a fond paſſion? will you for a moment enter into my feelings, and make allowance for thoſe tranſports? But how can you? Your friendſhip and pity may indeed induce you to excuſe this interruption; but, to ſympathiſe truly, and feel as I feel, you muſt have known the charming girl herſelf.

"My father, though he did not move in the very firſt walk of life, held the rank of a Gentleman by birth and education, and was reſpectable, not only as a man of conſiderable property, but as a perſon who knew how to turn the gifts of fortune to their beſt account: he was generous without prodigality, and charitable without oſtentation: he was allowed by all who knew him to be the moſt tender of huſbands---the moſt zealous and ſincere of friends; and I can bear witneſs to his being the beſt of parents. As long as I can remember to have been able to make a remark, the tenderneſs of both my father and mother knew no bounds: I ſeemed to occupy all their thoughts, all their attention; and in a few years, as I thank GOD I never made an unſuitable return for their affection,

tion, it increaſed to ſuch a degree, that their exiſtence ſeemed to hang upon mine.

" To make as much of a child ſo beloved as his natural talents would allow, no expence was ſpared in my education: from childhood, every inſtruction that money could purchaſe, and every allurement to learn that fondneſs could ſuggeſt, were beſtowed upon me; while my beloved father, tracing the advances I made with the magnifying eye of affection, would hang over me in rapture, and enjoy by anticipation the fame and honours that, overweening fondneſs ſuggeſted to him, muſt one day ſurround me. Theſe prejudices, my dear friend! ariſing from the exceſs of natural affection, are excuſeable, if not amiable, and deſerve a better fate than diſappointment. Alas! my honoured father, you little knew---and, oh! may you never know, what ſort of fame, what ſort of honours, await your child! May the anguiſh he endures, and his moſt calamitous fate, never reach your ears!---for, too well I know, 'twould give a deadly wrench to your heart, and precipitate you untimely to your grave.

" Thus years rolled on; during which, time ſeemed to have added new wings to his flight, ſo quickly did they paſs. Unmarked by any of thoſe ſiniſter events that parcel out the time in weary ſtages to the unfortunate, it ſlid on unperceived; and an enlargement in my ſize, and an increaſe of knowledge, were all I had to inform me that eighteen years had paſſed away.

" It was at this time that I firſt found the ſmooth current of my tranquillity interrupted, and the tide of my feelings ſwelled and agitated, by the acceſſion of new ſtreams of ſenſation---In ſhort, I became a ſlave to the delicious pains of Love; and, after having borne them in concealment for a long time, at length collected courage to declare it. Frankneſs and candour were among the virtues of my beloved: ſhe liſtened to proteſtations of affection, and, riſing above the little arts of her ſex, avowed a reciprocal attachment. The meaſure of my bliſs ſeemed now to be full: the purity of my paſſion was ſuch, that the thoughts of the groſſer animal deſires never once occurred; and happy in loving, and in being beloved, we paſſed our time in all the innocent blandiſhments which truly virtuous Love inſpires, without our imagination roaming even for an inſtant into the wilds of ſenſuality.

" As I was to inherit a genteel, independent fortune, my father propoſed to breed me up to a learned profeſſion---the Law; rather to invigorate and exerciſe my intellects, and as a ſtep to rank in the State, than for mere lucrative purpoſes. I was put to one of the Univerſities, with an allowance ſuited to his intentions towards me; and was immediately to have been ſent to travel for my further improvement, when an unforeſeen accident happened, which completely cruſhed all my father's views, daſhed the cup of happineſs from my lips, and brought me ultimately to that deplorable ſtate in which you have now the misfortune to be joined along with me.

" It

" It was but a few months antecedent to my embarking for the Eaſtern World, that my father, whom I had for ſome time with ſorrow obſerved thoughtful, ſtudious and melancholy, took me into his ſtudy, and, ſeizing my hand, and looking earneſtly into my face, while his countenance betrayed the violent agitation of his mind, aſked me emphatically, if I thought I had fortitude to bear the greateſt poſſible calamity? I was horror-ſtruck at his emotion, accompanied by ſuch a queſtion---but replied, I hoped I had. He then aſked me, if I had affection enough for him to forgive him if he was the cauſe of it? I anſwered, that the idea connected with the word *forgiveneſs*, was that which I could never be brought by any earthly circumſtance to apply to my father; but begged him at once to diſcloſe the worſt to me---as, be it what it might, my miſery could not ſurpaſs what I then felt from the myſterious manner in which he then ſpoke.

" He then told me that he was an undone man---that he had, with the very beſt intentions, and with the view of aggrandizing me, engaged in great and important ſpeculations, which, had they ſucceeded, would have given us a princely fortune---but, having turned out, unfortunately, the reverſe, had left him little above beggary. He added, that he had not the reſolution to communicate his loſſes to me, until neceſſity compelled him to tell me all the truth.

" Although this was a ſevere ſhock to me, I endeavoured to conceal my feelings from my father, on whoſe account, more than

on my own, I was affected, and pretended to make as light of it as ſo very important a misfortune would juſtify; and I had the happineſs to perceive that the worthy man took ſome comfort from my ſuppoſed indifference. I conjured him not to let ſo very trivial a thing as the loſs of property, which could be repaired, break in on his peace of mind or health, which could not; and obſerved to him, that we had all of us ſtill enough---for that my private property (which I poſſeſſed independent of him, and which a relation left me) would amply ſupply all our neceſſities.

" Having thus endeavoured to accommodate my unhappy father's feelings to his loſſes, I had yet to accommodate my own; and began to revolve in my mind what was likely to enſue from, and what ſtep was moſt proper to be taken in, this dreadful change of circumſtances. That which lay neareſt to my heart firſt occurred; ---you will readily gueſs that I mean my Love: to involve her I loved more, far more, than my life, in the misfortunes of my family, was too horrible a conſideration to be outweighed even by the dread of loſing her. I knew not what to do, and I thought upon it till I became almoſt enfrenzied---In this ſtate I went to her, and unfolded the whole ſtate of our concerns, together with my reſolution not to involve her in our ruin;---when---can you believe it?---the lovely girl inſiſted on making my fate indiſſolubly her's---not, as ſhe ſaid, that ſhe had the ſmalleſt apprehenſion lapſe of time or change of circumſtance could make an alteration in our affection, but that ſhe wiſhed to give my mind that repoſe which I might derive from

ſecurity,

ſecurity. This I would by no means accede to; and, for the preſent, we contented ourſelves with mutual vows of eternal fidelity.

" As ſoon as I thought my father's mind fit for ſuch a converſation, I opened to him a plan I had formed of coming to India, to advance my fortune. His underſtanding approved of it, but his heart diſſented; and he ſaid, that to part with me would give the finiſhing ſtroke to his misfortunes: but, as my intereſt was tolerably good, I repreſented to him the great likelihood I had of ſucceſs; and at laſt, with ſome difficulty, he conſented.

" My next ſtep was to acquaint Miſs ——— with my reſolution. I purpoſely paſs over a meeting which no power of language can deſcribe!---then how can I?---Oh! CAMPBELL, the remembrance of it gnaws me like a vulture here," (and he put his hand upon his heart, while the tears rolled down his cheeks), " and will ſoon, ſoon bring me to my end.

" Not to detain you with vain efforts to deſcribe all our feelings, I will confine myſelf to telling you, that after having made every neceſſary preparation, and divided with my much honoured parents the little property I poſſeſſed, I ſet ſail for India, in a ſtate of mind compared with which the horrors of annihilation would have been enviable: the chaos in my thoughts made me inſenſible to every object but one; and I brooded with a ſort of ſtupid, gloomy indulgence, over the portrait of Miſs ———, which hung round my neck, and was my inſeparable companion, till the people who ſeized me as I came aſhore plundered me of it, and thereby deprived

deprived me of the laſt refuge for comfort I had left. Oh! monſters! barbarians! had you glutted your ſavage fury by diſſevering my limbs, one after another, from my body, it would have been mercy, compared with depriving me of that little image of her I love! But it is all over, and I ſhall ſoon ſink into the grave, and never more be bleſſed with the view of thoſe heavenly features, till we meet in that region where all tears are wiped away, and where, I truſt, we ſhall be joined together for endleſs ages, in eternal, never-fading bliſs!"

LETTER LII.

On the day ſucceeding that on which the agent of Hyat Sahib had held the diſcourſe with me, mentioned in my laſt Letter but one, I was again ſent for, and brought to the ſame perſon, who aſked me, whether I had duly conſidered of the important offer made me by Hyat Sahib, and of the conſequences likely to reſult from a refuſal? and he appriſed me at the ſame time, that the command of five thouſand men was an honour which the firſt Rajahs in the Myſorean dominions would graſp at with tranſport. I told him I was well convinced of the honour ſuch a command would confer on any man but an Engliſhman, whoſe Country being

being the object of HYDER's inceſſant hoſtility, would make the acceptance of it infamy---that although I knew there were but too many Engliſhmen apoſtates to their Country, I hoped there were but few to be found in India willing to accept of any emoluments, however great, or any temptations, however ſpecious, to fly from the ſtandard of their Country, and rally round that of its bittereſt enemy---that, for my own part, being of a name ever foremoſt in the ranks of loyalty and patriotiſm, and of a family that had hitherto detracted nothing from the honours of that name, ſuch an act of apoſtacy would be peculiarly infamous in me, and I could view it in no better light than traitorous and parricidal---that, independent of all thoſe claims, which were of themſelves ſufficient to deter me, I felt within myſelf a principle, perhaps innate, perhaps inſpired by military habit, that forbade my acceding---and, finally, appealed to the good ſenſe of HYAT SAHIB, whether a man who in ſuch circumſtances had betrayed his Country, and ſacrificed her intereſts to his own conſcience, was ſuch a perſon as confidence could properly be put in.

Notwithſtanding theſe, and a thouſand other remonſtrances, which I cannot immediately recollect, but which the hazards of my ſituation ſuggeſted, he ſtill continued to preſs me, and uſed every argument, every perſuaſion, that ingenuity could dictate, or hints of puniſhment enforce, to ſhake my purpoſe---but in vain: attachment to Country and Family roſe paramount to all other conſiderations; and I gave a peremptory, deciſive refuſal.

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Circumſtanced as I was, it was impoſſible for me to keep an accurate journal of the various incidents that paſſed, or viciſſitudes of thought that occurred, during the period of my impriſonment. Indeed, I was ſcarcely conſcious of the length of my captivity, and could not, till I was releaſed, determine exactly how long it had continued. You muſt therefore content yourſelf to be told in general terms, that I was repeatedly urged on the ſubject by fair perſuaſives: they then had recourſe to menace; then they withheld the daily pittance allowed for my ſupport; and at length proceeded to coercion, tying a rope round my neck, and hoiſting me up to a tree. All this, however, I bore firmly: if it had any effect, it was to confirm me in my reſolution, and call in policy to the aid of honour's dictates. Every man of feeling or reaſon muſt allow, that it was better to die, than live a life of ſubjection to tyranny ſo truly diabolical.

Mr. HALL and I, thus drove to the brink of extinction, yet conſoled ourſelves with the reflection, that thoſe whom moſt we loved were not ſharing our unhappy fate, and were fortunately ignorant of our ſufferings; and as I enjoyed perfect good health, hope yet lived within me.

There is a ſpring, an elaſticity, in every man's mind, of which the owner is rarely, very rarely conſcious, becauſe fortunately the occaſions ſeldom occur in which it can be brought to the proof; for, as laſſitude is the neceſſary forerunner of refreſhment, ſo is extreme dejection to the moſt vigorous exerciſe of our fortitude.

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So I found it: as the horrors of my ſituation thickened round me, I felt my ſpirits increaſe; my reſolution became more firm, my hopes more ſanguine---I even began to look forward, and form projects for the future: whole hours amuſement, every day and every night, aroſe from the contemplation of my beloved boy; I in imagination traced his growth, directed his riſing ſentiments, formed plans for his future ſucceſs and proſperity, and indulged by anticipation in all the enjoyment which I now truſt I ſhall yet have in his ripened manhood.

Thus we continued for many months, during which no alteration whatſoever took place in our treatment or ſituation. We heard a thouſand contradictory reports of victories gained over the Engliſh, and again of ſome ſucceſſes on their part: they, however, deſiſted to preſs me into their ſervice. The only relief from our ſufferings lay in the reſources of our own minds, and in our mutual endeavours to pleaſe and conſole one another: the circumſtances of aggravation were the neceſſity of daily bearing witneſs to the moſt barbarous puniſhments inflicted upon wretched individuals under the ſemblance of juſtice, and the occaſional deprivation of our food, either by the fraud of the Sepoys who attended us, or the caprice or cruelty of their ſuperiors. It is but juſtice, however, to ſay, that they were not all alike: ſome overflowed with mercy, charity, and the milk of human kindneſs; while others, again, were almoſt as bad men as the Sovereigns they ſerved. We were not allowed the uſe of pen, ink, or paper; and very ſeldom could afford our-

ſelves the luxury of ſhaving, or clean linen; nor were we at all ſheltered from the inclemency of the weather, till at length a little room was built for us of mud, which being ſmall and damp, rendered our ſituation worſe than it was before.

The priſoner whom I have already mentioned, as having, in the time of the former Sovereign, held the firſt office in Bidanore, ſtill continued oppoſite to me; and he and I at length began to underſtand each other, and found means, by looks, ſigns and geſtures, to exchange thoughts, and hold an intercourſe of ſentiments together. From the circumſtance of his being a native, and better ſkilled in the language than me, he had much better intelligence than I could poſſibly have, and he was always eager to convey to me any circumſtance or news that he thought might be agreeable: ſome meſſages alſo paſſed between us, by means of the Sepoys who had alternately been his guard and mine---for our guards were changed every week.

Projects and hopes of a new kind now began to intrude themſelves on my thoughts; and I conceived a deſign, which I flattered myſelf was not entirely impracticable, to effect an eſcape, and even a revolt in the place. A variety of circumſtances concurred to perſuade me, that the tyranny of HYDER, and his ſervant HYAT SAHIB, was abhorred, though none dared to give vent to their ſentiments. I thought I could obſerve, that the native priſoner oppoſite to me was privately beloved, and might, from the recollection of his former dignities, have conſiderable influence in

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the place. Several Arcot Sepoys and their Officers (ſome of them belonging to my own regiment) were alſo priſoners at large; and withal I recollected, that difficulties apparently more ſtupendous had been overcome by Engliſhmen---having often heard it aſſerted, that there was not a priſon in the known world out of which a Britiſh ſubject had not made his eſcape.

Fraught with thoſe conceptions, I attempted to ſound the Officers of the Arcot Sepoys, whether it were not poſſible for us to effect our eſcape? So ardent is the flame of Liberty in all men's breaſts, ſo great is the deteſtation of human nature to Slavery, that I perceived a manifeſt willingneſs in the people about us to join me in an attempt to procure our liberty, or bring about a revolt in the garriſon. My heart beat high with the hope; and I began to flatter myſelf, that the day was not far removed when we ſhould not only bid defiance to our tyrants, but even make them repent the day on which we were caſt aſhore on their coaſt.

Having thus diſtantly ſounded all who I thought were likely to concur, upon the practicability of the attempt, and found them, as I conceived, diſpoſed to take ſhare in it, it yet remained to conſider of the *quomodo*---and, after having formed the general outlines of a plan, to lick it into ſhape. The firſt of theſe was a critical conſideration: the ſecond required addreſs and management, and was likely to be impeded by the vigilance of the people about, who would not fail to remark, and take the alarm, from any un-

uſual intercourſe or diſcourſe between us; and without a mutual communication of thoughts, and full deliberation by all parties concerned, as well as knowledge of the fort and its different gates, nothing could, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, be determined--nothing, without the moſt imminent hazard, be attempted. I therefore held various councils with my own mind, and with Mr. HALL, on the ſubject---moſt of which were abortive, without at all diſcouraging us.

At laſt I began to think of ſounding the Bidanore priſoner, *ci-devant* Governor of the place; and determined, if poſſible, to bring him into our conſultations, as I had before hoped to make him a party in the execution of the project: but while I was ſettling all this much to my own ſatisfaction, an event occurred which extinguiſhed all my hopes in that way---of which you ſhall have an account in my next Letter.

LETTER

LETTER LIII.

WHETHER the plan which I mentioned in my laſt was diſcovered or not, or from what other motive it aroſe, I have not to this day been able to decide; but ſo it was, that while my ſanguine mind was overflowing with the hope of carrying my project for an eſcape into effect, Mr. HALL and I were one day unexpectedly loaded with irons, and faſtened together, leg by leg, by one bolt. This, as nearly as I can compute, was four or five months before my releaſe. Of all the circumſtances of my life, it has made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon my mind: it unexpectedly and ſuddenly broke down the moſt pleaſing fabric my imagination had ever built. The ſurpriſe occaſioned by the appearance of the irons, and the precautionary manner in which it was undertaken, was indeed great: ſtill more was I ſurpriſed to obſerve, that the perſon who was employed to ſee this put in execution, manifeſted unuſual emotions, ſeemed much affected, and even ſhed tears as he looked on: and while the ſuddenneſs and cautionary mode of doing it convinced me that ſome reſiſtance on our part was apprehended, the ſorrow which the Officer who ſuperintended it diſcloſed, portended in my mind a fatal, or at leaſt a very ſerious iſſue.

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Unfortunately, poor Mr. HALL had for ſome time been afflicted with a return of his dreadful diſorder, the dyſentery; and our being ſhackled together increaſed an unconquerable mortification of feelings which he had before undergone, from a delicacy of nature that would have done honour to the moſt modeſt virgin, be her ſenſibility ever ſo exquiſite, or her delicacy ever ſo extreme---And here, my dear FREDERICK! I cannot let ſlip this opportunity of remarking to you, that the man, as well as the woman, who would render himſelf truly amiable in the eyes of his fellow-creatures, ſhould cultivate delicacy and modeſty, as the moſt captivating of all the moral virtues: from them, heroiſm derives additional luſtre---wit, ten-fold force---religion and morality, the charms of perſuaſion---and every perſonal action of the man, irreſiſtible dignity and winning grace. From this unlucky event, I received a temporary depreſſion; and the rapidly increaſing illneſs of poor HALL rendered my ſituation more than ever calamitous; when, again, my ſpirits, eagerly prone to graſp at every thing that gave a momentary hope of ſupport, were a little recruited by confuſed rumours of the Engliſh army having made a deſcent on the Malabar coaſt: and ſo powerful is the influence of mind on the animal ſyſtem, that Mr. HALL enjoyed from the report a momentary alleviation of his malady; but, having no medical aſſiſtance, nor even ſufficient ſuſtenance to further the favourable operations of Nature, he relapſed again; the diſeaſe fell upon him with redoubled fury: a very ſcanty portion of boiled rice, with a

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more ſcanty morſel of ſtinking ſalt fiſh or putrid fleſh, was a very inadequate ſupport for me, who, though emaciated, was in health ---and very improper medicine for a perſon labouring under a malady ſuch as Mr. HALL's, which required comfort, good medical ſkill, and delicate nutritious food. The tea which HYAT SAHIB had given me was expended; and we were not allowed to be ſhaved from the hour we were put in irons, an indulgence of that kind being forbidden by the barbarous rules of the priſon: and, to refine upon our tortures, ſleep, "the balm of hurt minds," was not allowed us uninterrupted; for, in conformity to another regulation, we were diſturbed every half hour by a noiſe ſomething reſembling a watchman's rattle, and a fellow who, ſtriking every part of our irons with a kind of hammer, and examining them leſt they ſhould be cut, broke in upon that kind reſtorative, and awoke our ſouls to freſh horrors.

As it muſt be much more naturally matter of aſtoniſhment that any bodily ſtrength could ſupport itſelf under ſuch complicated calamities, than that infirmity ſhould ſink beneath them, you will be rather grieved than ſurpriſed to hear that poor Mr. HALL was now approaching to his end with hourly accelerated ſteps. Every application that I made in his favour was refuſed, or rather treated with cruel neglect and contemptuous ſilence; and I foreſaw, with inexpreſſible anguiſh and indignation, that the barbarians would not abate him in his laſt minutes one jot of miſery, and that my moſt amiable friend was fated to expire under every attendant horror that

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mere ſublunary circumſtances could create. But that pity which the mighty, the powerful and enlightened denied, natural benevolence operating upon an uninformed mind, and ſcanty means, afforded us. HYAT SAHIB, the powerful, the wealthy, the Governor of a great and opulent province, refuſed to an expiring fellow-creature a little cheap relief---while a poor Sepoy taxed his little means to ſupply it: one who guarded us, of his own accord, at hazard of imminent puniſhment, purchaſed us a lamp and a little oil, which we burned for the laſt few nights.

Philoſophers and Divines have declaimed upon the advantages of a well-ſpent life, as felt *in articulo mortis*; and their efforts have had, I hope, ſome effect upon the lives of many. To witneſs one example ſuch as Mr. HALL held forth, would be worth volumes of precepts on this ſubject. The unfeigned reſignation with which he met his diſſolution, and the majeſtic fortitude with which he looked in the face the various circumſtances of horror that ſurrounded him, rendered him the moſt dignified object I ever beheld or conceived, and the moſt glorious inſtance of conſcious virtue triumphing over the terrors of death, and the cunning barbarity of Mankind. Were the progreſs of virtue attended with pain, and the practice of vice with pleaſure, the adoption of the former would be amply repaid by its ſoothings in the dreadful moment, even if it were to accompany us no further. About a quarter of an hour before he died, Mr. HALL broached a moſt tender ſubject of converſation, which he followed up with a ſeries

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of obſervations, ſo truly refined, ſo exquiſitely turned, ſo delicate and ſo pathetic, that it ſeemed almoſt the language of inſpiration, as if, in proportion to the decay of the body, intellect increaſed, and the dying man had become all mind. Such a converſation I never remembered to have heard, or heard of. Its effects upon me were wonderful; for, though the combination of melancholy circumſtances attending my now critical ſituation had almoſt raiſed my mind to frenzy, the ſalutary influence of his words and example controuled the exceſſes of my ſenſations; and I met the afflicting moment of his departure with a degree of tranquillity, which, though not to be compared to his, has on reflection appeared to me aſtoniſhing. This converſation continued to the very inſtant of his death; during which time he held my hand claſped in his, frequently enforcing his kind expreſſions to me with a ſqueeze---, while my ſorrow, taking its moſt eaſy channel, bedewed my face with tears. As he proceeded, my voice was choaked with my feelings; and I attempted once or twice in vain to ſpeak. His hand grew cold: he ſaid his lower limbs were all lifeleſs, and that he felt death coming over him with ſlow creeping ſteps---He again moralized, thanking GOD with pathetic fervour for his great mercy in leaving him his intellects unclouded, and the organ of communication (the tongue) unenfeebled, that, to the laſt, he might ſolace his friend and fellow-ſufferer---" Ah! CAMPBELL!" continued he, " to what a ſeries of miſeries am I now leaving you! Death in ſuch circumſtances is a bleſſing---I view mine as ſuch; and ſhould think it more ſo, if it contributed, by awakening thoſe

people to a ſenſe of their cruelty, to ſoften their rigour to you: but cruelty like their's is ſyſtematic, and ſtoops not to the controul of the feelings. Could I hope that you would yet eſcape from their clutches, and that you would once more preſs your family to your boſom, the thought would brighten ſtill the moment of our ſeparation: and, oh! my friend! could I ſtill further hope that you would one day ſee my moſt beloved and honoured parents, and tell them of my death without wringing their hearts with its horrid circumſtances, offer them my laſt duties, and tell how I revered them---If, too, you could ſee my ——, and tell her how far, far more dear than ——!" Here he turned his eyes toward the lamp, then faintly on me---made a convulſive effort to ſqueeze my hand ---cried out, "CAMPBELL! oh, CAMPBELL! the lamp is going out!" and expired without a groan.

The recital of this afflicting event has called up to my fancy ſo lively a picture of the ſcene as it paſſed with all its horrors---horrors which outſtrip all efforts of deſcription, and baffle all power of language---that my feelings are in part renewed, and I find myſelf incapable of proceeding further at preſent.

LETTER LIV.

FOR ſome time I was loſt in grief for the death of Mr. HALL. Though I had long expected it, and might conſequently be ſuppoſed to have waſted great part of my ſorrow in anticipation; yet, having only conſidered and felt the point before his death merely as it reſpected him and his misfortunes, a great portion of the calamity remained unconceived: and, now that he was dead, I began for the firſt time to conſider and feel the ſubject as it concerned myſelf. Reflection told me, that he was happily relieved from woe, and in a ſtate of bliſs---

> " After life's fitful fever, he ſleeps well:
> " ——————— Nor ſteel nor poiſon,
> " Malice domeſtic, foreign levy—nothing
> " Can touch him further !"

But I ſtill remained a prey to perhaps new barbarities, without hope of relief from the old. No partner to ſhare, no ſocial converſe to alleviate, no friend to conſole me under my afflictions, I looked at the body of my friend with envy, and lamented that death had not afforded me, too, a ſhelter from the cruelties which fate ſeemed determined to heap upon me.

It is impoſſible for me to expreſs to you the agonies of mind I underwent during the reſt of the night. In the morning, a report was made to the Commandant, of the death of Mr. HALL; and in about an hour after, he paſſed me by, but kept his face purpoſely turned away from me to the other ſide. I patiently waited for the removal of the dead body till the evening, when I deſired the Sepoys who guarded me to apply for its being removed. They returned, and told me that they could get no anſwer reſpecting it. Night came on, but there was no appearance of an intention to unfetter me from the corpſe. The Commandant was ſitting in his Court, adminiſtering, in the manner I have before deſcribed, *juſtice!* I called out to him myſelf with all my might, but could get no anſwer from him. Nothing could equal my rage and conſternation; for, excluſive of the painful idea of being ſhackled to the dead body of a friend I loved, another circumſtance contributed to make it a ſerious ſubject of horror. In thoſe climates, the weather is ſo intenſely hot, that putrefaction almoſt inſtantly ſucceeds death; and meat that is killed in the morning, and kept in the ſhade, will be unfit for dreſſing at night. In a ſubject, then, on which putrefaction had made advances even before death, and which remained expoſed to the open air, the proceſs muſt have been much more rapid. So far, however, from compaſſionating my ſituation, or indulging me by a removal of the body, their barbarity ſuggeſted to them to make it an inſtrument of puniſhment; and they pertinaciouſly adhered to the moſt mortifying ſilence and diſregard of my complaints.

For

For ſeveral days and nights it remained attached to me by the irons. I grew almoſt diſtracted---wiſhed for the means of putting an end to my miſeries by death, and could not move without witneſſing ſome new ſtage of putreſcence it attained, or breathe without inhaling the putrid effluvia that aroſe from it---while myriads of flies and loathſome inſects reſted on it, the former of which every now and then viſited me, crawling over my face and hands, and lighting in hundreds on my victuals. I never look back at this criſis without confuſion, horror, and even aſtoniſhment; and, were it not connected with a chain of events preceding and ſubſequent to it, too well known by reſpectable people to be doubted, and too much interwoven with a part of the hiſtory of the laſt war in India to admit of doubt, I ſhould not only be afraid to tell, but abſolutely doubt myſelf whether the whole was not the illuſion of a dream, rather than credit the poſſibility of my enduring ſuch unheard-of hardſhips without loſs of life or deprivation of ſenſes.

At laſt, when the body had reached that ſhocking loathſome ſtate of putrefaction which threatened that further delay would render removal abominable, if not impoſſible, the monſters agreed to take it away from me---and I was ſo far relieved: but the mortification and injury I underwent from it, joined to the agitation of the preceding week, made a viſible inroad on my health. I totally loſt my ſpirits; my appetite entirely forſook me: my long-nouriſhed hopes fled; and I looked forward to death as the only

deſirable

deſirable event that was within the verge of likelihood or poſſibility.

One day, my oppoſite friend (the native priſoner) gave me a look of the moſt intereſting and encouraging kind; and I perceived a more than uſual buſtle in the citadel, while the Sepoys informed me that they were ordered on immediate ſervice, and that ſome events of great importance had taken place. From this feeble gleam, my mind, naturally active, though depreſſed by circumſtances of unuſual weight, again took fire, and hope brightened with a kind of gloomy light the proſpect before me: I revolved a thouſand things, and drew from them a thouſand ſurmiſes; but all as yet was only conjecture with me. In a day or two, the buſtle increaſed to a high pitch, accompanied with marks of conſternation: the whole of the troops in the citadel were ordered to march; and the Commandant, and a man with a hammer and inſtruments, came to take off my irons.

While they were at work taking off my irons, I perceived that they were taking off thoſe of the native priſoner oppoſite to me alſo. He went away under a guard: we looked at each other complacently, nodded and ſmiled, as who ſhould ſay, "we hope to ſee one another in happier times not far diſtant." But, alas! vain are human hopes, and ſhort and dark is the extent of our utmoſt foreſight! This unhappy man, without committing any ſort of offence to merit it, but in conformity to the damnable, barbarous policy of thoſe Countries, was, by the Jema-

orders, taken forth, and his throat cut! This the Jemadar himſelf afterwards acknowledged to me---and, what was ſtill more abominable if poſſible, undertook to juſtify the proceeding upon the principles of reaſon, ſound ſenſe, and precedent of Aſiatic policy.

In order to elucidate the whole of this buſineſs, it is neceſſary for me to recur to events which happened antecedent to this time, but of which, by reaſon of my ſituation, I was then entirely ignorant; and as they involve, not only the grounds of my ſubſequent eſcape and proceedings, but a conſiderable portion of hiſtorical fact, and ſome of the material intereſts of the Eaſt India Company, I will be the more particularly careful in relating them, and deſire from you a proportionate ſhare of attention---But their importance entitle them to a ſeparate Letter: therefore conclude with aſſuring you, &c. &c.

LETTER

LETTER LV.

HYDER ALLI KHAWN, late Nabob of Myſore, and father to the preſent TIPPOO SAHIB SULTAIN, was as extraordinary a man, and perhaps poſſeſſed as great natural talents, as any recorded in the page of Hiſtory. Born and bred up in the loweſt ranks of an unenlightened and ignorant People, and to the laſt day of his life perfectly illiterate, he not only emerged from his native obſcurity by the vigour of his mind and body, but became an object of terror and admiration to ſurrounding Potentates. Early initiated in the habits and inured to the toils of a military life, he roſe, by the gradual ſteps of promotion, to a rank which afforded an opportunity of diſplaying his capacity and proweſs: he ſoon obtained the command of that army in which he had once ſerved as a common ſoldier, and immediately demonſtrated that the ſublimity of his mind was formed to keep pace with his extraordinary elevation.

The Marhattas, the moſt formidable people in Hither India, bordered on the Myſorean dominions, and kept their neighbours, by frequent hoſtilities, in a continual ſtate of awe---making incurſions on their territories, and taking poſſeſſion, by

---force

force of arms, of large portions of their Country: but no ſooner had HYDER got the command of the armies of his Country, than he drove back the Marhattas from the Myſorean dominions, which he extended by conſiderable acquiſitions from the Marhatta frontiers; and followed up his conqueſts with ſuch ſucceſsful ardour, that he compelled that warlike Nation to reſpect his Countrymen as their equals, if not ſuperiors, in military achievement. Thus, while he ingratiated himſelf with his Sovereign and Fellow-citizens by his wiſdom, he acquired the admiration of the Soldiery by his perſonal addreſs and valour; and at the ſame time, by the ſeverity of his diſcipline, and the occaſional auſterity of his deportment, maintained an awe over them, which ſtrengthened his authority without diminiſhing their affection.

HYDER was therefore now arrived at that point of elevation, beyond which no exertion of mental capacity, if governed by virtue or integrity, could raiſe him---So far he owed all to genius: but his towering ambition looked higher; and, unreſtrained by any principle of religion or morality, he determined to accompliſh, at any rate, that which he knew nothing but crime could accompliſh. With wicked deliberation he looked forward into the womb of time, and with unparalleled policy arranged the whole ſyſtem upon which he was to act, when that order of things his penetrating and intuitive genius enabled him to ſee would naturally ariſe from each other, ſhould afford him a proper opportunity. Although he was utterly ignorant of books, and of

courſe could derive little benefit from the examples of the great and ambitious men recorded in Hiſtory, yet, drawing upon the infinite reſources of his own mind or information, he adopted the very ſame means of furthering his views; and foreſeeing, that, with an immenſe army devoted to his intereſts, few things would be unattainable, he applied himſelf diligently to model and form that of the KING of MYSORE to the greateſt perfection in diſcipline, and to render it attached to his perſon, and ſubſervient to his views, by a ſkilful mixture of ſeverity and relaxation, toil and reward, danger and applauſe, which none but a maſter-hand like his was capable of exactly compounding.

The death of his Sovereign the KING of MYSORE at length afforded him the opportunity to which he had ſo long, and with ſo prophetic an eye, looked forward---and gave him ample room for ſelf-gratulation on the ſcore of his ſagacity and prudence.

The Heir in ſucceſſion to the Throne being then an infant, the politic HYDER, ſetting aſide all claims of the kindred of the young Prince, took upon himſelf the guardianſhip---under the title of Regent aſſumed the ſupreme authority---and, though too well aware of the inviolable attachment of the People to their lawful Monarch to put him directly to death, uſurped the Throne, and conſigned him to impriſonment in Seringapatam, the capital of the Myſorean dominions.

Having thus, by his talents, acquired the poſſeſſion of the Throne, he gave a large range to the ſublimity of his views, and

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ſoon diſplayed the exhauſtleſs reſources of his mind in the new office of Governor and Legiſlator---forming ſuch vaſt well-ordered military eſtabliſhments, and ſuch judicious and ſalutary civil inſtitutions, as made him blaze forth at once the terror of his neighbours, and rendered him, in the ſequel, the moſt powerful and formidable Potentate in the Hither Peninſula. In carrying on thoſe, his deficiency in letters was ſupplied by his vigilance and ſagacity, ſharpened by ſuſpicion: three ſecretaries executed all his orders in ſeparate apartments; and if, on compariſon, they were found to differ, he who committed the error received ſentence of death. His natural cruelty made him take the execution of their ſentence upon himſelf not unfrequently: to ſlice off a head with his own hand, or ſee it done by others, was a luxurious recreation to the ſanguinary HYDER.

The natural ſagacity of this great man ſuggeſted, that in order to accompliſh the extenſive objects which his active and ambitious temper held up to his imagination, the introduction of the moſt perfect military diſcipline was above all other things neceſſary; and his judgment informed him that the European was the beſt. He therefore held out the moſt tempting allurements to military adventurers, and particularly to thoſe, whether black or white, who had been trained in the ſervice of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company: he ſent emiſſaries, for the purpoſe, to all parts of India, with inſtructions to offer great rewards; and carried this deſign ſo far, that whenever accident or war threw perſons of

that deſcription into his hands, he never failed to detain them, and, if they refuſed to enter into his ſervice, treat them with the moſt unpardonable rigour and barbarity; and by theſe means brought his army to a ſtate of perfection till then unknown to a Black Power. He did not ſtop there, but determined to eſtabliſh a Navy---by large offers allured many ſhip-carpenters and artizans from Bombay---made no inconſiderable progreſs in conſtructing dock-yards, and had actually equipped ſome ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fitted to encounter European ſeas. Indeed, he ſeemed to have carried his views of conqueſt even to the Polar regions; for it is a fact, that he directed his people, in conſtructing thoſe veſſels, to fit them for encountering ſeas of ice, or, as he called it, the thick water.

To a man of ſuch ardent ambition and deep penetration, the vaſt power which the Engliſh Eaſt India Company had acquired, and were daily acquiring, in the Eaſt, could not fail to be an object of jealouſy. He conceived a deadly and implacable animoſity to the Britiſh Nation, which influenced his whole ſucceeding life, ended only with his death, and was then tranſmitted to his ſon TIPPOO SAHIB, with the exaction of a ſolemn oath, ever to retain thoſe ſentiments.

A coincidence of circumſtances, which has ſeldom occurred in the fortunes of men, tended, at a lucky criſis, to further the bold projects of HYDER; and neither fortune, though extremely propitious to him, nor his own unbounded talents and enegeric ſpirit,

favoured

favoured the execution of them, more than the bungling politics, the ludicrous ambition, and the conſequent unjuſtifiable proceedings, of one of our Preſidencies in India---I mean Bombay. Fortunately, the wiſdom and moderation of our Eaſt India Councils at this day, vindicate the wounded character of the Britiſh Nation, and juſtify me in the remarks I make.

An ambitious and profligate Chief of the Marhatta tribes---his name, ROGANAUT ROW---had been depoſed by the wiſe men of his Country, for having murdered his nephew, in order to uſurp the Throne of Setterah. He fled to Bombay, and, by ſpecious promiſes and pecuniary bribes, prevailed on that Preſidency to afford him an aſylum, and finally to take up arms in his defence againſt the united Marhatta States, who at the very time were able to raiſe an army of three hundred thouſand fighting men. Hoſtilities were firſt commenced by the Engliſh; and by them peace was firſt propoſed. The treaty of Poonah was made, by which it was provided that ROGANAUT ROW ſhould quit Bombay; and by the Engliſh the proviſions of that treaty were broken---for, in direct violation of it, ROGANAUT was kept at Bombay. This breach of the treaty led to another; for this crafty and unprincipled Chief made uſe of it with ſuch addreſs as to perſuade that Preſidency to attack the Marhattas again;---by magnifying the power of his party among his Countrymen, he prevailed upon them once more to aſſert his rights; and the Preſi-

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dency of Calcutta, I am afraid, were induced to join that of Bombay in the plan.

It happened unfortunately, that at this time the Chair of Bombay was filled by a perſon the moſt unqualified, probably, that could be found in any community for an office of ſuch importance ---Governor HORNBY. He was allowed, by the almoſt unanimous conſent of thoſe who knew his private or public character, to be ignorant, not only of the firſt principles of Government, but of the ordinary knowledge requiſite for a Gentleman; and for ſuch a ſerious truſt as Bombay he was peculiarly diſqualified by an unbounded luſt of gain, to which all other paſſions yielded up the dominion of his heart. A temper and intellect of this kind were rendered ſtill more incapable of the enlarged views the Repreſentative of a great Nation in a diſtant Colony ſhould poſſeſs, by a mercantile education and habits, which narrowed even his circumſcribed mind, and left him not a ſentiment, not an idea, that was not merely commercial. The adminiſtration of ſuch a man was exactly what might have been expected; and, inſtead of aſſerting the dignity of Great Britain, or promoting the advantage of his employers---narrow policy, ſelfiſh views, and an indefatigable effort to enrich himſelf, made the whole tiſſue of his conduct in India.

Blinded by the plauſible inſinuations of ROGANAUT, and ſtimulated by a luſt for conqueſt, which would have been unjuſtifiable even in the proud prejudices of an hereditary Deſpot, but which were

were peculiarly vicious and ridiculous in a body of Merchants who were themſelves ſubjects, the Eaſt India Company's Servants again determined to ſupport, by force of arms, that moſt atrocious murderer: and with the contemptibly inadequate force of four thouſand men, encumbered with an unwieldy train of baggage and ſervants for the accommodation of finikin voluptuous Officers, and led by two doughty compting-houſe champions (CARNAC and MOSTYN), with Colonel EGERTON as *Military Aſſiſtant* rather than Commander, they ſet out, to encounter the whole torrent of the Marhatta force, and conduct ROGANAUT to Poonah.

Had ROGANAUT advanced at the head of his own partizans only, the Chiefs of the Marhatta Nation might poſſibly have taken different ſides of the queſtion, and left between them a breach for his arms or intrigues to make an entrance fatal to the general cauſe of the Country: but the aſſaults of a foreign army ---an army of intereſted peculating ſtrangers, as the Company's troops then were---an army of avowed natural enemies, profeſſing a different religion, entertaining different political principles, and formed by Nature of a different complexion---rouſed and united them in one common cauſe, and compreſſed diſcordant intereſts, which had been for time immemorial at irreconcilable variance, into one compact body of reſiſtance, which, as it became more firm from the ſtrokes of hoſtility, could not, in the nature of things, be ſubdued; in the ſame manner as the unjuſtifiable con-

federacy

federacy of Kings againſt France lately united all the conflicting parties of that Country---converted twenty-ſeven millions of People, male and female, into one compact armed force---rendered them not only invincible at home, but terrible abroad---and finally, has enabled them to beſtride, Coluſſus like, the univerſe.

LETTER LV.

THE approach of the Britiſh Troops with ROGANAUT cauſed great alarm at Poonah; and the Miniſters there ſent to offer terms, which were contemptuouſly rejected. They then determined to ſave, by proweſs, thoſe rights which they could not preſerve by juſtice or negociation---and took the field with ſuch great force, that their menacing enemies found it expedient to conſider of a retreat. The *faithful* ROGANAUT, finding his plans baffled, ſent privately to SCINDIAH, the Marhatta Chief, propoſing to him to attack the Engliſh, and promiſing in that caſe to join him with his part of the army: his perfidy, however, being diſcovered, the Engliſh Commanders began to retreat, carrying him along with them. They were, however, ſurrounded, and reduced to make the moſt abject conceſſions---offering a *carte-blanche* to SCINDIAH as the price of a retreat: but that auguſt Chief nobly diſdained

to

to take advantage of their ſituation, and contented himſelf with terms which juſtice ſhould have exacted from them, even if neceſſity had not compelled their acceptance. The reſtoration of Salſette, and of the other conqueſts made by the Company's troops during the preceding hoſtilities, and the delivery of ROGANAUT'S perſon into the hands of the Marhattas, were among the proviſions. ROGANAUT was delivered up: two hoſtages were taken for the remaining part of the treaty; and the harraſſed remains of the Engliſh army were permitted to return to Bombay.

ROGANAUT having found means to eſcape, reached Surat; and the Company's Chiefs refuſed to comply with the proviſions of the treaty: notwithſtanding which, the noble Marhatta diſmiſſed the hoſtages, and prepared for a more manly revenge than that which could be wreaked on two defenceleſs individuals. General GODDART, who had been ſent with an army from Bengal, was commiſſioned to negociate for a pacification: but SCINDIAH making the delivery of ROGANAUT into his hands an indiſpenſable preliminary, the negociation was broken off, and both parties determined to refer the controverſy to the deciſion of the Sword.

Every thing ſeemed to conſpire to chaſtiſe the raſhneſs and folly of our Indian Councils. The difficulties in which our American conteſt had involved the Nation, were reported with exaggeration in India, and gave additional firmneſs to our enemies in that quarter. The reſtleſs and intriguing ſpirit of the Court of Verſailles found its way with Monſieur ST. LUBIN to the ſhores

of Indoſtan, and ſo powerfully worked upon the mind of HYDER, that he entered into a treaty with France againſt England, and brought the ſtrength of both into the moſt formidable combination that ever was made in that Country, to root out the power of Great Britain from the Eaſt.

Thus, by the depraved politics of the Councils of a petty Settlement, were the important intereſts of Great Britain in India, and the lives and properties of all its ſervants in that quarter, at once expoſed to the fury of three formidable hoſtile powers---the Marhattas, HYDER and the French.

I will not entangle my narrative with a detail of the various military operations which aroſe from this confederacy: they were in general diſaſtrous to the Engliſh, whoſe power there was preſerved from utter annihilation by the energetic Councils of Mr. HASTINGS, the unexampled courage of our troops, and the unparalleled abilities and gallantry of the veteran Sir EYRE COOTE. That part which applies to my preſent narrative, is the only part I think it neceſſary to detail; but I wiſh you to inform yourſelf of all of them fully, by an attentive peruſal of the different hiſtories of that war.

In order to relieve the Carnatic, which was ſuffering under the ravages of a formidable victorious army, who had not only cut off a great part of our forces on that coaſt, but affronted our army even at the walls of Fort St. George, deſcents upon the coaſts of Malabar were planned, in order to make a diverſion: and

General

General MATHEWS, in January 1783, landed, with a ſmall army under his command, at a place called Rajamondroog---took Onore, and ſeveral forts; and being joined by other troops, which, under the command of Colonel HUMBERTSON, had done conſiderable ſervices to the Southward, and were now commanded by Colonel MACLEOD, marched from Cundapore, with an army conſiſting of twelve hundred Europeans and eight battalions of Sepoys, towards Huſſaingurry Ghaut, a paſs that leads over theſe immenſe mountains which divide the Peninſula, running North and South from Perſia to Cape Comorin. After ſurmounting obſtacles that would have diſcouraged a leſs enterpriſing Commander, and for which I refer you to his own Letter, incloſed herewith,* he mounted the Ghaut, carrying every thing before him with the fixed bayonet; and reached, within a ſhort march of Hydernagur, the place where I was confined. Thoſe operations were undoubtedly much facilitated by the death of HYDER ALLI, which happened while I was in priſon, and which drew the attention of TIPPOO SAHIB to affairs of more immediate importance than the defence of the Malabar forts.

I have thus digreſſed from the ſtraight path of my narrative, in order to explain to you the occaſion of the extraordinary revolution that ſo ſuddenly took place in the fort, which I ſtated to you in my laſt Letter but one---You will therefore look back to the concluſion of that Letter, from whence I again take up my narrative.

* See Appendix.

I was utterly at a loſs to conjecture what this ſo ſudden reſolution to releaſe me and my oppoſite fellow-priſoner meant. I endeavoured to get ſome explanation of it from the perſons about me; but all I could at the time collect was, that the Jemadar had directed me to be taken out of irons, and ordered me to appear before him. I walked out of the citadel with two or three men who had got charge of me: it was a delightful afternoon; and my ſenſations on once more reviſiting the open air---at again viewing the vaſt expanſe of the firmament above, and the profuſion of beauties with which Nature embelliſhed the earth beneath---were too bliſsful, too ſublime, for deſcription. My heart beat with involuntary tranſports of gratitude to that Being from which all ſprung; and I felt that Man is, in his nature, even without the intervention of his reaſon, a being of devotion. For an hour of ſuch delight as I then experienced, a year of impriſonment was, I thought, hardly too dear a price. Thoſe exquiſite ſenſations inſenſibly led my heart to the moſt flattering preſages: the animal ſpirit appeared to have, in correſpondence with the body, ſhaken off a load of chains; and as I walked along, I ſeemed to tread on air.

As we proceeded forward, we found, at ſome diſtance from the fort, an open dooly, into which the guards forcibly crammed me; and I was carried off, ſtill attended by the ſame men. As we went along, they gave me to underſtand that HYAT SAHIB, the Jemadar, was at a place ten or a dozen miles diſtant from Bidanore.

Bidanore. I thought it within myſelf a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, and was at a loſs to conjecture for what purpoſe he required my preſence there. Perhaps, thought I, it is to deliver me perſonally into the hands of TIPPOO---perhaps to ſend me to Seringapatam. Suſpenſe whetted my curioſity; and impatience to know my fate, ſet my mind afloat upon a wide ſea of conjecture. Still, however, my ſenſes acknowledged a degree of pleaſure indeſcribable---I inhaled the freſh air with greedineſs, and, as I ſnuffed it in, ſaid to myſelf, "Well, well---at the worſt, this will enliven my ſpirits, and lay up a new ſtock of health and vigour, to enable me to endure with manhood whatever other ſufferings the barbarians, into whoſe hands I have fallen, may have in ſtore for me."

When we had got about a mile from the fort, we met a perſon attended by three others, all on horſeback. He was a man of conſiderable rank in that Country, and I recollected to have ſeen him at the Jemadar's Durbar, where he had manifeſted a favourable diſpoſition towards me, looking always graciouſly, and nodding to me, which, conſidering my circumſtances and his, was not a little extraordinary. The moment he recognized me, he leaped from his horſe, apparently in great agitation: then turning to the guards, ordered them to leave me immediately---ſaying at the ſame time that he would be anſwerable for the conſequences. They ſeemed at firſt to heſitate whether they would obey him or not; but on his ſhaking at them his ſword, which was all along drawn in his hand,

hand, and ſmeared with blood, and repeating his orders a ſecond time in a firm and deciſive tone of voice and manner, they all ran off.

As ſoon as we were alone, he revealed to me, that he had all along known who I was---had moſt heartily pitied my ſufferings, and privately entertained the moſt anxious wiſhes to ſerve me, but could not venture to interfere---the leaſt jealouſy, when once awakened, being there always followed up by ſummary vengeance. He then mentioned his name, informing me that he was the ſon of a Nabob near Vellore, whoſe dominions had been wreſted from him by force, and united to the Carnatic; that his family had received great favours from my father, in return for which he felt himſelf bound to do me every ſervice in his power; but that, having been, after the misfortunes which befel his family, taken into the ſervice of HYDER, and holding then a place of conſequence under him, he was diſqualified from demonſtrating his gratitude and eſteem in the way he wiſhed: he added, he had juſt come from the ſummit of the Ghauts, where he left the Engliſh army poſted, after their having beat the Circar troops, and carried all the ſtrong works which had been erected for the defence of the paſſes, and were deemed from their ſituation impregnable; that the Jemadar, HYAT SAHIB, had gone thither to encourage the troops, and animate them to one grand effort of reſiſtance and would remain there till the ſucceeding day---Here he ſtopped, and ſeemed much agitated; but, recovering himſelf ſoon, ſaid, in a

ſolemn

ſolemn and alarming manner, "This day I heard HYAT SAHIB give orders to bring you before him, in order that he might ſatiate his revenge by your death! How happy am I in having an opportunity to reſcue you! I will carry you back with me, therefore, to Bidanore, and place you in a ſtate of ſecurity with my family."

LETTER LVII.

SUCH unprecedented generoſity affected me ſenſibly. To run ſuch a hazard as he muſt have incurred, merely from a principle of gratitude for ſervices ſo remote in both time and perſon, was more than we could hope to find even among Engliſhmen, who boaſt of their ſuperior juſtice and generoſity---but in a native of Indoſtan, where the tide of human feeling runs rather low, was aſtoniſhing. As well as my limited knowledge of the language of the Country enabled me, I endeavoured to make him a ſuitable acknowledgment: in ſuch a cauſe, dullneſs muſt have become eloquent; and I lamented that my deficiency in the language prevented my giving vent to the extreme fullneſs of my heart. He ſeemed, however, to be ſatisfied with my meaning; and I was juſt on the point of returning with him to Hydernagur, when we were ſuddenly ſtartled by the Jemadar's muſic, which

was

was ſoon afterwards ſucceeded by the appearance of his guards advancing towards us at ſome diſtance. He ſeemed confounded and alarmed---lamented, in warm terms, his incapacity to ſerve me---and, pointing to a path which wound through a wood that lay on either ſide of the road, directed me to ſtrike into it immediately, ſaying, that by following that route, I ſhould certainly fall in with the Britiſh army. He then rode away, and I followed his advice, and proceeded for ſome time through the wood without interruption; for, though I did not implicitly believe the aſſertion that HYAT SAHIB meant to have cut me off, I deemed it prudent to avail myſelf of the opportunity which offered to effect my eſcape, apprehending a worſe fate than death, namely, being ſent priſoner to Seringapatam.

Finding myſelf fairly extricated, I began to examine my ſituation, and to reflect on the different converſations which had paſſed between HYAT SAHIB and me, and on his conduct previous to my being put in irons. I recollected the information I had from time to time received, touching the Jemadar's diſpoſition, HYDER's death, TIPPOO SAHIB's character and avowed hatred of HYAT, and the nature of the inhabitants. I moreover took into conſideration, that my ſtrength was impaired, and my conſtitution undermined; and that my proſpects in India, in point of fame or emolument, could only be promoted by ſome extraordinary exertion, or ſome hazardous enterpriſe. The reſult of the whole was a determination on my part to return back to the fort,

and

and venture an attempt to perſuade the Jemadar to offer propoſals for an accommodation to General MATHEWS, and to make me the inſtrument of his negociation.

In purſuance of this determination, I returned; and at about ſix o'clock in the evening re-entered the fort, and proceeded to the palace of the Jamadar, where, deſiring an audience, I was admitted. At the very firſt ſight of him, I could perceive in his appearance all the mortification of falling power. He received me with a gloomy countenance, in which there was more of thoughtful ſadneſs than of vindictive fury. After a minute's ſilence, however, he ſaid to me, "Well, Sir! you have heard, I ſuppoſe, that the Engliſh army are in poſſeſſion of the Ghauts, and doubtleſs know that the cuſtoms of this Country authoriſe my proceeding againſt you with the utmoſt rigour." Here he pauſed for a few moments---then proceeded thus: "Nevertheleſs, in conſideration of your family---in conſideration of the regard I have for a long time conceived for you, from obſerving your conduct, and ſtrict adherence to truth in anſwering all my queſtions, and ſtill more on account of the ſufferings which you have ſuſtained with fortitude, I will allow you to eſcape: haſte you, then, away---fly from this fort directly---begone!" Then waving his hand as a ſignal for me to depart, averted his face from me, and looked another way.

I thought that this was a very favourable opportunity for my intended purpoſe, and entreated him to hear me while I ſaid a

few words of perhaps more moment to him than to myſelf. He again turned towards me; and, nodding aſſent, while his eye beſpoke impatient curioſity, I proceeded---And, firſt, I expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms I was able, the high ſenſe I entertained of the favourable reception I met with when I firſt came to the fort; aſſuring him, that I ſhould never forget the kindneſs he ſhewed me on that occaſion, and that in my conſcience I imputed all the ſufferings I had undergone wholly to orders which he had been obliged to execute, and not to any want of humanity in himſelf. Here I perceived the clouds which had overſpread his countenance begin gradually to diſperſe, and with the greater confidence proceeded to ſay, that if he would condeſcend to give me a patient hearing, and not take my boldneſs amiſs, I would venture to intrude upon him with my advice. At this he ſtared at me with a look of ſurpriſe---pauſed---then ſaid, that he authoriſed me to ſpeak whatever I pleaſed---continuing, in a tone of gentle melancholy, " But of what uſe can your advice be to me now?"

Having thus obtained his permiſſion, I began by complimenting him on his great talents and temper in governing---on his fidelity, zeal and attachment to HYDER---and on the mild and beneficent uſe which he was acknowledged to have made of the unbounded power veſted in him by that great Prince, which was the more extraordinary, conſidering how many examples he had to juſtify him in a contrary practice. I reminded him, however, that circumſtances were at preſent widely different from what they

they then were---that he had now got a very different Sovereign to ſerve---that he had no longer the tender father (for ſo HYDER might have been conſidered to him), but TIPPOO SULTAN, now the maſter, once the rival, whoſe meaſures he had always oppoſed, againſt whom he had once laid a moſt ſerious charge, and who, conſidering the firmneſs of his nature, could not be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have forgiven him; and I hinted, that whatever external appearance of regard TIPPOO might from the political neceſſity of the moment aſſume, his temper, and the ſpirit of Aſiatic policy, were too well known to have a doubt remaining, that ſo far from continuing him (HYAT) in the ſame power and authority which he enjoyed during the life of his father HYDER, he would, on the contrary, proceed againſt him with rigour and cruelty.

Here I perceived the Jemadar involuntarily nodding his head in a manner which, though not intended for my obſervation, denoted internal aſſent; and was convinced that I had exactly fallen in with the current of his own thoughts. No wonder, indeed, they ſhould be his ſentiments; for they had long been the ſentiments of all perſons who had known the circumſtances of the Nabob's family.

Having, therefore, gone as far on that point as I conceived to be neceſſary to awaken the mind of HYAT to the precarioufneſs, or rather danger of his ſituation with TIPPOO, I painted to him, in the ſtrongeſt colours I was maſter of, the humanity, the fidelity,

the bravery and generoſity of the Engliſh, which, I ſaid, were ſo univerſally acknowledged, that even their worſt enemies bore teſtimony to them: and I aſſured him, that if, inſtead of making an unavailing oppoſition to them, he would throw himſelf with confidence upon their protection, and become their friend, he would not only be continued in his ſtation, power and authority, and ſupported as heretofore, but be made a much greater man, with ſtill greater ſecurity, than ever he had been before.

This was the general ſcope of my argument with him; but there were many more which ſuggeſted themſelves at the time, though I cannot now remember them. I enforced them with all the power I had: they were ſupported by the acknowledged character for generoſity of the Engliſh, and ſtill more by HYAT's apprehenſions of TIPPOO; and they had their effect. That very night he authoriſed me to go to the Britiſh General; and, though he would not commit himſelf by ſending propoſals in writing, he conſented to receive them from the General, and promiſed to wait for my return till day-light the next morning---adding, that if I did not appear by that time, he would go off with his family and treaſure to ſome other place, and ſet the town, powder-magazine and ſtore-houſes on fire, leaving a perſon of diſtinguiſhed character to defend the citadel or inner fort, which was ſtrong, with a deep ditch, and mounted with many pieces of cannon, and ſent immediate intelligence to an army of ſix thouſand horſe and one thouſand infantry, who were at that time on their road from

Seringa-

Seringapatam, to haſten their progreſs, and make them advance with all poſſible rapidity; and he further obſerved, that as TIPPOO himſelf would come to the immediate protection of his Country, and, if once come while the Engliſh army remained in the open field, would give them cauſe to repent their temerity, there was no time to be loſt.

Accompanied by a perſon who had officiated as interpreter between the Jemadar and me, and whoſe good offices and influence with HYAT, which was very great, I had been previouſly lucky enough to ſecure, I ſet off at ten o'clock at night, on horſeback, to the Britiſh army. My companion was in high ſpirits when we ſet out from the fort; but as we proceeded, he expreſſed great apprehenſion of being ſhot in approaching the camp, and earneſtly entreated me to ſleep at a choreltry, which lay in our way, till morning. His terror muſt have been great indeed, to induce him to make ſuch a propoſal, as he knew very well that we had pledged ourſelves to be back before dawn next day. I rallied him upon his fears, and endeavoured to perſuade him there was not the ſmalleſt danger, as I knew how to anſwer the outpoſts, when they ſhould challenge us, in ſuch a manner as to prevent their firing. As we advanced to the camp, however, his trepidation increaſed; and when we approached the ſentries, I was obliged to drag him along by force. Then his fears had very nearly produced the danger he dreaded, (the almoſt invariable effect of cowardice); for the ſentry next to us, hearing the ruſtling noiſe, let

let off his piece, and was retreating when I had the good fortune to make him hear me. My companion, alarmed at the noiſe of the muſquet, fell down in a paroxyſm of terror, from which it was ſome time before he was completely recovered. The ſentry who had fired, coming up, conducted us to a place where other ſentries were poſted, one of whom accompanied us to a guard, from whence we were brought to the grand guard, and by them conducted to the General.

LETTER LVIII.

I WAS no leſs pleaſed than ſurpriſed to find, that the Commander of this gallant and ſucceſsful little army was General MATHEWS---an old friend of my father's, and a perſon with whom I had ſerved in the Cavalry ſoon after I entered the ſervice. When I arrived, he was faſt aſleep upon the bare ground in a choreltry. His Dubaſh, whoſe name was SNAKE, recollected me immediately, and was almoſt as much frightened at my appearance at firſt, as my interpreter companion was at the ſhot of the ſentry; for it was full five months ſince my hair and beard had been both ſhaved at the ſame time, during which period a comb had never touched my head: I had no hat---no ſtockings---

ſtockings---was clad in a pair of very ragged breeches, a ſhirt which was ſo full of holes that it reſembled rather a net than a web of cloth, and a waiſtcoat which had been made for a man twice my ſize---while my feet were defended from the ſtones only by a pair of Indian ſlippers. SNAKE, as ſoon as he was able to conquer his terror, and ſtop the loquacious effuſions of aſtoniſhment, brought me to the General, whom I found faſt aſleep. We awoke him with great difficulty, and, on his diſcovering me, expreſſed great pleaſure and ſurpriſe at ſo unexpected a meeting; for, though he had heard of my impriſonment at Bidanore, he did not expect to have had the pleaſure of my company ſo ſoon.

Having ſtated to the General the nature and object of my miſſion, and related to him what had happened in the fort, he inſtantly ſaw the great advantages that muſt accrue from ſuch an arrangement---entered into a full but ſhort diſcuſſion of the buſineſs---ſettled with me the plan to be purſued in either caſe of HYAT SAHIB's acceding to or diſſenting from the terms he propoſed to offer; and in leſs than an hour after my arrival, I was diſpatched back to the fort in the General's palanquin, with a cowl from him, ſignifying that the Jemadar HYAT SAHIB's power and influence ſhould not be leſſened, if he ſhould quietly ſurrender up the fort. Before my departure, the General expreſſed, in the warmeſt terms, his approbation of my conduct; and added, that conſidering the importance of the fort, the extenſive

tenſive influence of HYAT SAHIB, and the advantages that might be derived from his experience and abilities, coupled with the enfeebled ſtate of his army, the benefits of ſuch a negociation ſcarcely admitted of calculation.

Notwithſtanding the very flattering circumſtances with which my preſent purſuit was attended, I could not help, as I returned to Hydernagur, finding ſome uneaſy ſenſations, ariſing from the immediate nature of the buſineſs, and from my knowledge of the faithleſs diſpoſition of Aſiatics, and the little difficulty they find in violating any moral principle, if it happens to claſh with their intereſt, or if a breach of it promiſes any advantage. I conſidered that it was by no means impoſſible, that ſome reſolution adverſe to my project might have been adopted in my abſence, and that the Jemadar's policy might lead him to make my deſtruction a ſort of propitiation for his former offences, and to ſend me and the cowl together to TIPPOO, to be ſacrificed to his reſentment. Theſe thoughts, I own, made a very deep impreſſion on my mind---but were again effaced by the reflection, that a laudable meaſure, once begun, ought to be perſevered in, and that the accompliſhing a plan of ſuch importance and incalculable public utility, might operate ſtill further by example, and produce conſequences of which it was impoſſible at the preſent to form a conception. Thoſe, and a variety of ſuch ſuggeſtions, entirely overcame the ſcruples and fears of the danger; and I once more entered the fort of Hydernagur. At this time the Britiſh troops were, by detaching

taching a part with Colonel MACLEOD, to get round the fort, and attack it in rear, and, by death and ſickneſs, reduced to leſs than four hundred Europeans and ſeven hundred Sepoys, without ordnance.

When I delivered the cowl to the Jemadar, he read it, and ſeemed pleaſed, but talked of four or five days to conſider of an anſwer, and ſeemed to be wavering in his mind, and labouring under the alternate impulſes of oppoſite motives and contradictory paſſions. I ſaw that it was a criſis of more importance than any other of my life---a criſis in which delay, irreſolution, or yielding to the protractive expedients of HYAT, might be fatal. To prevent, therefore, the effects of either treachery or repentance, I took advantage of the general confuſion and trepidation which prevailed in the fort---collected the Arcot Sepoys, who, to the number of four hundred, were priſoners at large---poſted them at the gates, powder-magazines, and other critical ſituations; and, having taken theſe and other precautions, went out to the General, who, according to the plan concerted between us, had puſhed on with the advanced guard; and, conducting him into the fort with hardly an attendant, brought him ſtraight to the Jemadar's preſence while he yet remained in a ſtate of indeciſion and terror. General MATHEWS, in his firſt interview with the Jemadar, did every thing to re-aſſure him, and confirmed with the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations the terms of the cowl; in conſequence of which, the latter acceded to the propoſitions contained in it, and the

Britiſh Colours for the firſt time waved upon the walls of the chief fort of the Country of Bidanore.

Having thus contributed to put this important garriſon, with all its treaſures, which certainly were immenſe, into the hands of the Company, without the loſs of a ſingle man, or even the ſtriking of a ſingle blow, my exultation was inconceivable; and, much though I wanted money, I can with truth aver, that avarice had not even for an inſtant the leaſt ſhare in my ſenſations. 'Tis true, the conſciouſneſs of my ſervices aſſured me of a reward; but how that reward was to accrue to me, never once was the ſubject of my contemplation---much leſs did I think of availing myſelf of the inſtant occaſion to obtain it. How far my delicacy on the occaſion may be cenſured or approved, I cannot tell; but if I got nothing by it, I have at leaſt the conſolation to reflect that I eſcaped calumny, which was with a moſt unjuſtifiable and unſparing hand laviſhed on others. The General, it is true, promiſed that I ſhould remain with him till he made ſome arrangements; and HYAT SAHIB offered, on his part, to make me, through the General, a handſome preſent. The General, however, ſuddenly became diſſatisfied with me; and I neither got HYAT SAHIB's preſent, nor ever received even a rupee of the vaſt ſpoil found there.

Here I think it a duty incumbent on me to ſay ſomething of General MATHEWS, and, while I deplore the unfortunate turn in his temper, which injured me, and tarniſhed in ſome meaſure his

good

good qualities, to reſcue him from that unmerited obloquy which the ignorant, the intereſted and the envious have thrown upon his fame. Light lie the aſhes of the dead, and hallowed be the turf that pillows the head of a Soldier! General MATHEWS was indeed a Soldier---was calumniated too; and although he did not uſe me as I had reaſon to hope he would, I will, as far as I can, reſcue his fame from groſs miſrepreſentation.

An extravagant love of fame was the ruling paſſion of General MATHEWS: it was the great end of all his purſuits; and while, in his military profeſſion, he walked with a firm pace towards it, he loſt his time, diſtorted his progreſs, and palſied his own efforts, by a jealous vigilance and envious oppoſition of thoſe whom he found taking the ſame road, whether they walked beſide him, or panted in feeble effort behind. This was his fault; it was doubtleſs a great alloy to his good qualities: but it has been puniſhed with rigour diſproportionate to the offence. Thoſe who perſonally felt his jealouſy, took advantage of his melancholy end to traduce him, and magnify every mole-hill of error into a mountain of crime. It is unmanly in any one---indeed it is---to traduce the Soldier who has fallen in the ſervice of his Country; but it is hereſy in a Soldier to do ſo. No ſooner did the buzz of calumny get abroad, than thouſands of hornets, who had neither intereſt nor concern in the affair, joined in it. The malignant, who wiſhed to ſting merely to get rid of ſo much of their venom---and the vain, who wiſhed to acquire a reputation for knowledge of Aſiatic affairs at the ex-

pence of truth---united together, and raiſed a hum which reached Europe, where the hornets (I mean Authors), under the leſs unjuſtifiable impulſe of neceſſity, took it up, and buzzed through the medium of *quartos* and *octovos* ſo loud, that public opinion was poiſoned; and the gallant Soldier who, for the advantage of England, ſtood the hardeſt tugs of war, and at laſt drank the poiſoned cup from the tyrant hands of her enemy, was generally underſtood to be a peculator, and to have clandeſtinely and diſhoneſtly obtained three hundred thouſand pounds.

On this aſſertion I put my direct negative. It may be ſaid, however, that this is only aſſertion againſt aſſertion---True! Sorry ſhould I be to reſt it there: my aſſertions are grounded on ſuch proofs as are not to be ſhaken---proofs on record in the Office of the Preſidency of Bombay.

As ſoon as Hydernagur was taken poſſeſſion of, HYAT SAHIB immediately iſſued orders to the forts of Mangalore, Deokull, Ananpore, and ſome others in that Country, to ſurrender to the Britiſh arms. Some obeyed the mandate; but thoſe three reſiſted, and were reduced by General MATHEWS. Rendered incautious by ſucceſs, our army became leſs vigilant, and TIPPOO retook Hydernagur; and, in direct breach of the capitulation, made the garriſon priſoners, treated them with a degree of inhumanity which chills the blood even to think of, and forced General MATHEWS to take poiſon in priſon!

Mean-

Mean-time HYAT SAHIB, with whom the General had got into diſputes, arrived at Bombay, and laid a charge againſt him, which he, being in the hands of TIPPOO, could not controvert, or even know. And what was the charge? The whole extent of it was his (MATHEWS's) having got two lacks of rupees, and a pearl necklace, as a preſent---a ſum, conſidering the country and the circumſtances, not at all extraordinary, but which is completely vindicated by the General's Letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Mangalore, the 15th of March, 1783; in which he ſtates the preſent, and requeſts permiſſion to accept it. This, as I ſaid before, is on record, and was tranſlated by Mr. SYBALD, who was then Perſian interpreter at Bombay. The Letter I allude to, you will ſee in the APPENDIX. In ſhort, General MATHEWS had his faults, but an unjuſt avarice was not amongſt them.

LETTER LIX.

HAVING, in my laſt Letter, ſaid as much as I thought juſtice demanded in defence of General MATHEWS, againſt the charge of peculation, I am now to ſpeak of him as his conduct touched me. He was, as I have already mentioned, an old friend of my father's, and an intimate of my own: I had reaſon, therefore, to expect from him, according to the uſual diſpoſitions and manners of men, if not partiality, at leaſt friendſhip; and in ſuch a caſe as I have related, where my ſervices gave me a claim to notice, it was not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that he would have been forward to promote my intereſt, by ſtating my ſervices in ſuch a manner as to call attention to them. He had, however, ſome diſagreeable diſcuſſions with his Officers; and ſeeing I was on a footing of intimacy with Colonel HUMBERTSON, and ſtill more with Major CAMPBELL (he who ſo ably and gallantly defended Mangalore againſt TIPPOO's whole army and ſix hundred French), and finding me extremely zealous and importunate to have his arrangement with HYAT SAHIB adhered to, he became diſpleaſed, and, though he himſelf had determined that I ſhould remain with him, changed his mind, and ordered me away at an hour's

notice---

notice---many days ſooner than he had originally intended to ſend off any diſpatches. He moreover occaſioned my loſing a ſum of money, and on the whole paid leſs attention to my intereſt than the circumſtances of the caſe demanded.

In the evening of the day on which he determined on my departure, I ſet off with his diſpatches to the Governments of Madras and Bengal, and reached the moſt diſtant of our poſts that night. From thence I had thirty miles to Cundapore, a ſea-port town upon the Malabar coaſt, taken by us from the enemy. During this journey, which was through the Country of TIPPOO SAHIB, I had only ſix Sepoys to conduct me: yet, ſuch was the univerſal panic that had ſeized all claſſes and diſtinctions of people at the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in that quarter, I met only a few ſcattered Sepoys, who were ſo badly wounded I preſume they were unable to travel---the villages throughout being completely abandoned by all their inhabitants.

The ſudden change of diet, which phyſicians tell us, and I experienced, is dangerous, from bad to good, as well as the reverſe, conſpiring with the mortification I felt at ſeeing things going on ſo very contrary to what I wiſhed, and what I had reaſon to expect, had a moſt ſudden and alarming effect upon my conſtitution; and I was ſeized on the road with the moſt excruciating, internal pains, which were ſucceeded by a violent vomiting of blood. At length, with great difficulty, I reached Cundapore, where the Commanding Officer, and all about him, did every thing

thing in their power to afford me aſſiſtance and comfort under my miſeries, which increaſed every hour rapidly. I felt as if my inſide was utterly decayed, and all its functions loſt in debility: at the ſame time my head ſeemed deranged---I could ſcarcely comprehend the meaning of what was ſaid: lifting up my head was attended with agonizing pain; and if I had any power of thought, it was to conſider myſelf as approaching faſt to diſſolution. I had the ſenſe, however, to ſend to General MATHEWS, to acquaint him with my indiſpoſition, and utter inability to proceed with his diſpatches. To this I received the following Letter:

"*Bidanore, Feb.* 3, 1783.

"DEAR CAMPBELL,

"I am ſorry to hear that you have been unwell. Should "your indiſpoſition increaſe, or continue, ſo as to render you "unable to purſue your journey with the neceſſary expedition, I "beg that you will forward the Letters to Anjengo by a boat, "with directions to Mr. HUTCHINSON to ſend them per tappy * "to Palameotah, and ſo on to Madras.

"I ſhall hope to hear of your recovery, and that you'll have "gone to ſea.

"Your's very truly,

"RICHARD MATHEWS."

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* Poſt, or expreſs.

The receipt of this Letter induced me, bad as I was, to make one other exertion; and I reſolved, though I ſhould die on the way, not to leave any thing which, even by malicious conſtruction, could be made a ſet-off againſt my claims: I therefore hired an open boat to carry me along the coaſt to Anjengo, and ſet out with every proſpect of having the virulence of my diſorder increaſed, by being expoſed in an uncovered veſſel to the damp of the night air, and the raging heat of the ſun in the day, and of being arreſted by the hand of death in my way. By the time I had got down the coaſt as far as Mangalore, my complaints increaſed to an alarming height; and I became ſpeechleſs, and unable to ſtand. Fortunately there happened to be a Company's veſſel then lying at anchor off that place, the Captain of which had the goodneſs to invite me to remain on board with him, ſtrenuouſly adviſing that I ſhould give up the thoughts of proceeding immediately on my voyage to Anjengo, which I could not poſſibly ſurvive, and to forward my diſpatches by another hand. The Surgeon of the ſhip joining the Captain in opinion that I could not ſurvive if I attempted it, and my own judgment coinciding with their's, I at length conſented, and remained there.

Tranquillity, kind treatment, and good medical aſſiſtance, produced, in the ſpace of two or three weeks, ſo material a change in my health, I was in a condition to avail myſelf, at the expiration of that time, of a ſhip bound to Anjengo, and which offering the additional inducement of touching at Tellicherry, determined me to take my paſſage in her. When I arrived at Tellicherry,

and during my ſtay there, the great attention ſhewed me by Mr. FREEMAN, the Chief of that place, and the comforts of his houſe, reſtored me to a great ſhare of health and ſpirits---And here a very ſingular circumſtance occurred.

One day a veſſel arrived; and perceiving a boat coming on ſhore from her, Mr. FREEMAN and I walked down to the beach, to make the uſual inquiries---ſuch as, where ſhe came from? what news ſhe brought? &c. &c. As ſoon as the boat touched the ſhore, a Gentleman leaped out of it, whoſe perſon ſeemed familiar to me: upon his nearer approach, I diſcovered that it was Mr. BRODEY, a Gentleman who had been kind enough to take upon him the office of my Attorney, upon my leaving India ſome years before---not my *Attorney* in the ordinary acceptation of that word, but a liberal and diſintereſted friend, who obligingly undertook the management of my affairs in my abſence, without the ſmalleſt hope of advantage, or rather under circumſtances which ſerved as preludes to further obligations. I was certainly pleaſed and ſurpriſed to ſee him; but his aſtoniſhment to ſee me amounted almoſt to a diſtruſt of his eye-ſight: he had received ſuch indubitable proofs of my death, that my ſudden appearance on his landing, at the firſt ruſh of thought, impreſſed him with the notion of a *deceptio viſus*. My identity, however, was too poſitive for reſiſtance; and his wonder melted down into cordial ſatisfaction, and congratulations on my ſafety. He then took out a pocket account-book, in which, for ſecurity againſt accidents, he kept

accounts

accounts-current, written in a brief manner---and ſhewed me mine, ſettled almoſt to the very day, upon which was tranſcribed a copy of a letter he had received, and which he thought was a teſtimony of my death. So, cutting out the account, and preſenting it to me, he expreſſed, in the moſt cordial and handſome manner, his joy that it was into my own hands he had at laſt had an opportunity to deliver it. This Gentleman is now in this Kingdom, and too well known for me to deſcribe him. Suffice it to ſay, that in England, as well as in India, he has always enjoyed the eſteem and reſpect of all his acquaintances, to as great an extent as any other perſon I know.

I again embarked to proceed on my voyage, and had hardly got on board when a ſhip dropped anchor along ſide of us, in which Captain CAMPBELL of Comby, a very near connection of mine, was paſſenger. On hailing one another, he heard that I was on board, and immediately was with me. Thoſe who ſincerely love each other, and whoſe hearts confeſs the fond ties of conſanguinity, can alone conceive what our mutual pleaſure was at meeting ſo unexpectedly in ſo remote a corner of the world. He was then on his way to join the army. This amiable young man now repoſes in the Bed of Honour at Mangalore! He fell, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the very gallant defence made by that place againſt the whole force of TIPPOO. With regret we parted; and in due time I arrived at Anjengo without any accident befalling me, which was rather extraordinary.

Leaving Anjengo, I ſet out for Madras, deſigning to go all the way by land---a journey of near eight hundred miles. I accordingly ſtruck through the Kingdom of Travancore, whoſe Sovereign is in alliance with the Engliſh; and had not long entered the territories of the Nabob of Arcot, before Major MACNEAL, an old friend of mine, and Commandant of a fort in that diſtrict, met me, preceded by a troop of dancing girls, who encircled my palanquin, dancing around me until I entered the Major's houſe.

It would be difficult to give you an adequate notion of thoſe dancing girls. Trained up from their infancy to the practice of the moſt graceful motions, the moſt artful diſplay of perſonal ſymmetry, and the moſt wanton allurements, they dance in ſuch a ſtyle, and twine their limbs and bodies into ſuch poſtures, as bewitch the ſenſes, and extort applauſe and admiration where in ſtrictneſs diſapprobation is due: nor is their agility inferior to the grace of their movements---though they do not exert it in the ſame ſkipping way that our ſtage dancers do, but make it ſubſervient to the elegance, and, I may ſay, grandeur, of their air. They are generally found in troops of ſix or eight, attended by muſicians, whoſe aſpect and dreſs are as uncouth and ſqualid, as the ſounds they produce under the name of muſic are inelegant, harſh and diſſonant. To this muſic, from which meaſure as much as harmony is excluded, they dance, moſt wonderfully adapting their ſtep to the perpetual change of the time, accompanying it with amorous ſongs, while the correſpondent action of their bod

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and limbs, the wanton palpitation and heaving of their exquiſitely formed boſoms, and the amorous, or rather laſcivious expreſſion of their countenance, excite in the ſpectators emotions not very favourable to chaſtity. Thus they continue to act, till, by the warmth of exerciſe and imagination, they become ſeemingly frantic with ecſtacy, and, ſinking down motionleſs with fatigue, throw themſelves into the moſt alluring attitudes that ingenious vice and voluptuouſneſs can poſſibly deviſe.

That ſuch incitements to vice ſhould make a part of the ſyſtem of any ſociety, is to be lamented: yet, at all ceremonies and great occaſions, whether of religious worſhip or domeſtic enjoyment, they make a part of the entertainment; and the altar of their gods, and the purity of the marriage rites, are alike polluted by the introduction of the dancing girls. The impurity of this cuſtom, however, vaniſhes in India, when compared with the hideous practice of introducing dancing *boys*.

The Major, after having entertained me in the moſt hoſpitable manner, accompanied me to Palameotah, to the houſe of Doctor Dott, who lived in a generous and hoſpitable ſtyle. I had once had an opportunity of evincing my good diſpoſition to this Gentleman, when he was moſt critically ſituated; and the reception he gave me demonſtrated, that he then retained a lively ſenſe of my conduct to him.

Leaving Palamcotah, I continued my route through Madura. This Country is rendered remarkable by the revolt of the famous

Isif Cawn, who made a bold and well-conducted attempt to erect himself into the Sovereignty of that Province, independent of the Nabob of the Carnatic, in whose service he was: and as the affair occurs to my thoughts, I will, for your information, notwithstanding its being unconnected with my story, digress into an account of it. As soon as the revolt of Isif Cawn was known, General Monson, an Officer of great military skill and personal merit, went against him at the head of the King's and Company's troops, and invested the fort of Madura, in which that rebellious Chief was posted. The General made a practicable breach, and, in storming, was beat back with great slaughter by Isif; and the setting in of the monsoons immediately after, retarded the further operations of our army against the place; and in the interim, peace having been concluded between the Courts of St. James's and Versailles, the King's troops were withdrawn.

On the recal of the King's troops, an army of Company's troops was formed, to proceed against Madura, in order to reduce this gallant turbulent rebel to subjection; and the renowned General Lawrence being rendered incapable of actual service, and obliged to remain at the Presidency by extreme age and infirmity, the chief command devolved upon my father by seniority: he headed the expedition; and, after overcoming innumerable difficulties thrown in his way by the inventive genius and enterprising spirit of Isif Cawn, again made a breach, which was deemed practicable by the chief engineer, now Sir John Call. An assaul

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was made with no better ſucceſs than the former; for our army was again repulſed with incredible ſlaughter: more than two thirds, I believe, of our European Officers, were among the killed or wounded; and the death of Major PRESTON, ſecond in command, a man endeared to the army by the poſſeſſion of every advantage of perſon, heart and talents---an active, intrepid and able Officer---aggravated the calamities of the day.

If, impelled by my feelings, or tempted by remembrance of the paſt, I ſometimes digreſs from the direct path of my narrative, my FREDERICK will accompany me, not only with patience, but I dare ſay with pleaſure: I cannot refrain, therefore, from mentioning a memorable occurrence during that ſiege, not only as it is ſomewhat extraordinary in itſelf, but as it relates to a very near and dear connection. Colonel DONALD CAMPBELL, who then commanded the Cavalry, received no leſs than fourteen ſword-wounds and a muſquet-ball in his body---yet continued doing his duty with ſuch cool intrepidity, that brave ſoldiers who were witneſſes to it, expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment: upon being requeſted to quit the field, he replied, that as his family were provided for, he had nothing to fear; and as it was very unlikely his life could be ſaved, he would not deprive his Country of any advantage that might be derived from his exertions for the ſhort reſidue of it, but continue to the laſt moment at his duty. With all this firmneſs and magnanimity, he was gentle, good-humoured, modeſt and unaſſuming; and was admired for his great

perſonal

perſonal beauty, as well as military talents, particularly by the Duke of CUMBERLAND, under whom he ſerved in the war in Germany as a ſubaltern Officer, in ſo much that His Royal Highneſs had his picture drawn. It was to him the Company were firſt indebted for the introduction of perfect military diſcipline into their army in India. In the various relations in which he ſtood, whether domeſtic or public, as the ſubject, the citizen, the father, or the friend, he was ſo uniformly excellent, that the ſhafts of malevolence, which the beſt and wiſeſt of men have but too often felt, ſeldom reached him; and he may juſtly be reckoned amongſt that very ſmall number of created beings, of whom ſcarcely any one had the audacity to ſpeak ill. Upon my firſt arrival in India, I was put under his command, and lived in his family---when, inſtead of deporting himſelf towards me with that reſerve and auſterity which rank and reputation like his, coupled with the circumſtance of his being my uncle, might in ſome ſort have juſtified, he took me into his confidence, treated me with the greateſt affection, and acted rather as the brother and the equal, than as the parent and ſuperior; and thus his gentle admonitions had more effect in reſtraining the ſallies of youth, and impetuoſity of my temper, than the ſour, unpalatable documents of a ſupercilious preceptor could poſſibly have had.

The wonderful effects of this happy temper in ſwaying the ſtubborn diſpoſition of headſtrong youth, was exemplified in another inſtance---of which, ſince I am on the ſubject, I will inform you

you. Mr. DUPRES, then Governor of Madras, wrote to him about a young Gentleman, in the following words:

" MY DEAR COLONEL,

" In the liſt of Officers appointed to your garriſon, you will " ſee the name of ————. This young man (nephew to " Mrs. DUPRES), with abilities that might render him conſpicuous, " I am ſorry to ſay, ſtands in need of a ſtrict hand. All the fa- " vour I have to requeſt of you is to ſhew him no favour: keep " him rigidly to his duty; and, if he requires it, rule him with a " rod of iron. Should his future conduct meet your appro- " bation, it is unneceſſary for me to aſk it, as you are alway " ready to ſhew kindneſs to thoſe who merit it."

The peculiar ſtyle of this letter made ſuch an impreſſion on my memory, that I am able to give the exact words. Colonel CAMPBELL, however, took his own unalterable method, mild- neſs---treated the young Gentleman in ſuch a manner as to raiſe in him a conſciouſneſs of his dignity as a man, the firſt and beſt guard againſt miſconduct---and appointed him to the grenadier troop. The reſult was anſwerable to his expectations; for the young man's conduct, both as an Officer and a Gentleman, was ſuch in the ſequel as to reflect credit on himſelf and his family; and his very honourable and hopeful career was at laſt terminated by a cannon-ball at the ſiege of Tanjore.

If the veneration in which I ſhall ever hold this moſt dear, reſpected relative admitted of increaſe, it would certainly rece it from the contraſt I am every day obliged to draw between him and the wretched *butterflies* who ſometimes flutter round us under the name of Men: for, how can I help contraſting his inflexible courage, united to angelic mildneſs, with the inſolence of lilly-livered Hectors, who, conſcious of the moſt abject cowardice, dare to give an inſult, and baſely ſkulk from honeſt reſentment beneath the arm of the Law!---fellows who, like *Bobadil* in the play, can kill a whole army with the tongue, but dare not face a pigmy in the field!---and, while they want the prudence to reſtrain the torrent of effeminate invective, have patience enough to bear a kicking, or a box in the ear!---who bluſter and vapour to hide the trembling limb and poltroon aſpect, as children whiſtle in the dark to brave the ghoſts they dread! Beware of all ſuch wretches as you would ſhun plague or peſtilence. I hope you do not imagine that I have ſo little common ſenſe or philanthropy as to cenſure thoſe who, from phyſical cauſes or conſtitutional delicacy, are averſe to conteſt: No, no---I do aſſure you, on the contrary, that my obſervation leads me to think ſuch men, though ſlow to quarrel, and inoffenſive in conduct, are very gallant when honour or duty demand from them a conqueſt over their weakneſs. I have, in my time, ſeen ſuch men at firſt the ſport, and at laſt the terror of your bluſtering bullies; and I have always thought, that in ſuch a triumph over their feelings, they had more true merit than

than men conſtitutionally courageous: the latter has his valour in common with the mere animal; the other poſſeſſes the valour of ſentiment. I mean that moſt ignominious of all beings, who, prodigal in offence, yet reluctant in reparation---who, hoping to find ſome perſon paſſive as themſelves over whom to triumph, hazard the giving of an inſult, with the malignant view to gaſconade over him if he ſubmits---and, if he reſents, to wreak the whole vengeance of Law upon him. In ſociety with ſuch men, there is no ſafety; for they leave you only the caſual alternative to chooſe between ſhame and ruin. Him who ſubmits, they call poltroon; and him who reſents, they fleece in form of Law. There are others who, to bring their fellow-creatures down to their own level, brave the execrations of Mankind, and the vengeance of Heaven: ſuch harpies do exiſt, who, though bold enough to inſult, are tame enough to receive chaſtiſement without reſiſtance; and, though tame enough to ſubmit to chaſtiſement, are ſo furiouſly vindictive as to proclaim their ſhame, their cowardice, perhaps in the face of an open Court, in order to glut their revenge by the pillage of their adverſary's purſe. Let ſuch men enjoy the fruits of their machinations, if they can---To their own feelings I conſign them; for I can with a villain no greater curſe than the company of his own conſcience, nor a poltroon a more poignant ſting than that which the contempt of Mankind inflicts upon him.

LETTER LX.

PASSING through Madura, I arrived at Trichinopoly, where I met Mr. SULLIVAN, the Reſident of Tanjore, who very politely furniſhed me with a letter to Mr. HIPPESLEY, his Deputy at Tanjore, from whom I received many marks of civility. At that place I had the pleaſure of meeting a Gentleman with whom I had been at College, and for whom I had always entertained a great eſteem: this was Colonel FULLARTON. It is an old maxim, that we ſhould ſay nothing but good of the dead---"De mortuis nil niſi bonum." It is not a new maxim, I believe, to avoid praiſing the living: I am aware of the indelicacy of it; and therefore purpoſely avoid in this, as I ſhall in other inſtances, ſpeaking the full opinion I entertain. To the general eſteem in which he was held by all ranks of people in India, I refer you to Colonel FULLARTON's character: it is of ſuch a ſort, that I wiſh to hold it up for your imitation. At a time of life when others have arrived to ſome perfection in their profeſſion, he made choice of his, and entered for the firſt time into the arduous military department, with a command for which the training of many years is no more than ſufficient to prepare other men. The Miniſter,

niſter of that day gave him this important charge, underwent the clamours of Oppoſition for it, and was juſtified in the event. When the Colonel came to act, ſo far from being deficient, his whole conduct was diſtinguiſhed, not leſs for military talent than courage---while the moſt fortunate command of temper and captivating addreſs ſubdued the ſpirit of prejudice, reconciled the moſt diſcordant, and gained him, though a King's Officer, the eſteem, as much of the Company's as King's troops. In ſhort, all ranks of people, civil as well as military, whether belonging to King or Company, united in approbation of his conduct---a thing not known before, nor ſince, but in the perſon of Lord CORNWALLIS.

Too much cannot be ſaid of the advantages reſulting from a proper command of temper. To promote that in my FREDERICK, will be attended with little difficulty: on the contrary, my only doubt is, that the placability and mildneſs of his diſpoſition will too often ſubject him to impoſition. JOHN is, however, of a different temper; there is ſomething in it which requires both admonition and good example to repreſs within proper bounds: to ſhew him the beauty as well as uſe of a mild, cool temper, ſuch inſtances as Colonel FLULARTON may be of weight, and I wiſh him to reflect upon it. And here I am reminded of a perſon and a circumſtance ſo exactly in point, that I cannot refrain from noticing them: they convey no inadequate idea of the happineſs reſulting from a gentleneſs of nature, and dominion over the mind; and as the perſon I allude to is dead, I may ſpeak of him

with

with the greater freedom in that full ſtrain of praiſe which ſhining virtues deſerve.

Of all the men I have ever had the good fortune to know, Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL poſſeſſed, in the higheſt degree, that heavenly turn of mind, which not only is at peace with itſelf, but diffuſes harmony and cheerfulneſs around it. No buſineſs, however urgent in occaſion, reſtricted in point of time, or embarraſſed with difficulty---no accident, however unexpected, or event, however ſiniſter---none of thoſe innumerable minutiæ which fret and chafe the tempers of other men, ever ſuſpended the cool tenor of his thought even for a moment: nothing ſhook the ſerenity of his temper---nothing deranged the preſence of his mind: uniform and placid, he in all ſituations had the full dominion of himſelf, and in the field it gave him a decided ſuperiority: nor was this felicity of nature confined to his public conduct; it attended him at the domeſtic enjoyments of the fire-ſide---at the ſocial board---in the private receſſes of his cloſet; and the very ſame habit of ſoul which, in his great public duties, rendered him valuable to his Country, and formidable to her enemies, gained him the admiration and eſteem of his friends, the unbounded affection of his family, and the bleſſing of all his dependants.

An incident that occurred in my preſence may ſerve in ſome meaſure to decipher the mind of this admirable man---I ſhall never forget it. Previouſly to his going to India, he had exerted his intereſt to obtain from the Eaſt India Company ſome reward

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for my ſervices; and, a few days before his departure, promiſed to ſpeak again to Mr. DEVAYNES, Chairman of the Eaſt India Company. I waited on him on the day he was ſetting off; he was juſt about to depart, and ſurrounded by a numerous circle. In the midſt of this buſtle, and the confuſion, one would ſuppoſe, inſeparable from ſuch a criſis, he recollected his promiſe---told me Mr. DEVAYNES had that minute taken leave of him, and he had forgot to mention me, but ſaid that he would write to him on the ſubject; and, though he was at the inſtant on the point of moving to the carriage that was to carry him off, ſat down, and with that amiable ſweetneſs of manners and happily collected mind ſo peculiarly his own, wrote a letter for me to Mr. DEVAYNES---holding converſation, the while, in the moſt lively, engaging manner, with the perſons around him. The conciſeneſs and perſpicuity of language in which this letter was couched, will ſerve to elucidate what I have ſaid---I therefore tranſcribe it for you:

" *St. James's Hotel, Sept.* 30, 1785.

" DEAR SIR,

" I forgot to mention to you this forenoon, and again to repeat " my earneſt wiſhes, you would take the caſe of Mr. CAMPBELL " ſpeedily into your conſideration. His ſufferings were of ſuch a " nature, and his ſervices ſo meritorious, that I am perſuaded, " upon a fair inveſtigation of both, you will give him your firmeſt " ſupport. I have looked into all his papers; and the teſtimonies

" of

" of eſſential ſervices rendered to the Company by him, do hi
" in my opinion, the higheſt honour. Unleſs ſuch merits are
" compenſed, few will riſk every thing, as Mr. CAMPBELL did,
" to promote the ſucceſs of the Company's arms in India: but I
" truſt you will ſee it in its proper light; and in that hope I ſhall
" only add, that whatever acts of kindneſs you ſhew to him, will
" be conſidered as an obligation conferred on,

" DEAR SIR,

" Your faithful and moſt obedient humble ſervant,

" ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL."

" *To William Devaynes, Eſq.*"

Be aſſured, my dear boys, (for now I ſpeak to JOHN as well as FREDERICK), that one act of triumph over the temper is worth a million of triumphs over our fellow-creatures, and that the perfect dominion of our mind is more advantageous and laudable than the dominion over Provinces or Nations. The one attaches merely to our corporeal part, and is buried with our duſt in the grave: the other follows our immortal part, and paſſes with it into eternity.

On my leaving Tanjore, Colonel FULLARTON honoured me with the care of a letter to Lord MACARTNEY, then Governor of Madras---an extract of which I give you, as it applied to my buſineſs particularly:

" *Tanjore.*

" *Tanjore, March* 20, 1783.

" My Lord,

" I had the honour to write to your Lordſhip on the 8th by " Captain Hallam, who carried from hence very large packets " to you. The opportunity of Captain Campbell tempts me to " trouble your Lordſhip, merely to inform you, that all my let- " ters from Bidanore aſcribe in a great degree the ſucceſs of our " arms in that quarter, and the *romantic* Revolution effected there, " to the influence he had with Hyat Sahib, and to the propoſals " of ſurrender which he ſuggeſted, and tranſacted with the Ge- " neral and Jemadar. I think it neceſſary that you, my Lord, " may know how much the Public is indebted to Captain " Campbell, whoſe good fortune in this affair has only been " equalled by his good conduct. He is perfectly acquainted with " the ſtate of affairs on the other coaſt, and has ſeen and heard " much of our tranſactions here; ſo that no perſon can give a " more clear or unbiaſſed view of events."

I had alſo the good luck to meet, at Tanjore, Mr. Buchanan, a very near connection of mine, for whom I had long entertained a ſincere and warm regard. It has been my misfortune to have been obliged frequently to cenſure ſome of my relatives for ill-nature and ingratitude: I never did ſo without the moſt painful ſenſations. When, on the contrary, I am enabled to ſpeak to their honour, I feel a proportionate ſhare of pleaſure: I am therefore

happy in mentioning Mr. BUCHANAN as a man as amiable in his private as reſpectable in his public character; but the ſatisfaction I felt at this meeting was much alloyed by finding him in a very bad ſtate of health.

Before I left Tanjore, I had an opportunity of being eye-witneſs to that extraordinary and horrid ceremony, the burning of a Gentoo woman with the body of her huſband. As this is a point which has occaſioned much ſpeculation and ſome doubt among Europeans, I incloſe you an accurate account of the ceremony, as minuted down at the time it happened.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY OF THE GENTOO WOMEN BURNING THEMSELVES WITH THE BODIES OF THEIR HUSBANDS.

" This day, ————, I went to ſee a Gentoo woman reſign herſelf to be burned along with the corpſe of her deceaſed huſband.

" The place fixed upon for this tragic ſcene, was a ſmall iſlet on the bank of one of the branches of the river Cavery, about a mile to the Northward of the fort of Tanjore.

" When I came to the ſpot, I found the victim, who appeared to be not above ſixteen, ſitting on the ground, dreſſed in the Gentoo manner, with a white cloth wrapped round her, ſome white flowers like jeſſamins hanging round her neck, and ſome of them hanging from her hair. There were about twenty women

women ſitting on their hams round her, holding a white handkerchief, extended horizontally over her head, to ſhade her from the ſun, which was exceſſively hot, it being then about noon.

" At about twenty yards from where ſhe was ſitting, and facing her, there were ſeveral Bramins buſy in conſtructing a pile with billets of fire-wood: the pile was about eight feet long, and four broad. They firſt began by driving ſome upright ſtakes into the ground, and then built up the middle to about the height of three feet and a half with billets of wood.

" The dead huſband, who, from his appearance, ſeemed to be about ſixty years of age, was lying cloſe by, ſtretched out on a bier, made of Bamboo canes. Four Bramins walked in proceſſion three times round the dead body, firſt in a direction contrary to the ſun, and afterwards other three times in a direction with the ſun, all the while muttering incantations; and at each round or circuit they made, they untwiſted, and immediately again twiſted up the ſmall long lock of hair which is left unſhaven at the back of their heads.

" Some other Bramins were in the mean time employed in ſprinkling water out of a green leaf, rolled up like a cup, upon a ſmall heap of cakes of dry cow-dung, with which the pile was afterwards to be ſet on fire.

" An old Bramin ſat at the North-eaſt corner of the pile upon his hams, with a pair of ſpectacles on, reading, I ſuppoſe, the Shaſter, or their Scriptures, from a book compoſed of Cajan leaves.

" Having been preſent now nearly an hour, I inquired when they meant to ſet the pile on fire: they anſwered, in about two hours As this ſpectacle was moſt melancholy, and naturally ſtruck me with horror, and as I had only gone there to aſſure myſelf of the *truth of ſuch ſacrifices being made*, I went away towards the fort. After I was gone about five hundred yards, they ſent ſome one to tell me they would burn immediately; on which I returned, and found the woman had been moved from where ſhe was ſitting to the river, where the Bramins were bathing her. On taking her out of the water, they put ſome money in her hand, which ſhe dipped in the river, and divided among the Bramins: ſhe had then a yellow cloth rolled partially round her. They put ſome red colour, about the ſize of a ſixpence, on the centre of her forehead, and rubbed ſomething that appeared to me to be clay. She was then led to the pile, round which ſhe walked three times as the ſun goes: ſhe then mounted it at the North-eaſt corner, without any aſſiſtance; and ſat herſelf down on the right ſide of her huſband, who had been previouſly laid upon the pile. She then unſcrewed the pins which faſtened the jewels or ſilver rings on her arms: after ſhe had taken them off, ſhe ſhut them, and ſcrewed in the pins again, and gave one to each of two women who were ſtanding: ſhe unſcrewed her ear-rings, and other toys, with great compoſure, and divided them among the women who were with her. There ſeemed to be ſome little ſquabble about the diſtribution of her jewels, which ſhe ſettled with great pre-

ciſion,

ciſſion; and then, falling gently backwards, pulled a fold of the yellow cloth over her face, turned her breaſt towards her huſband's ſide, and laid her right arm over his breaſt; and in this poſture ſhe remained without moving.

" Juſt before ſhe lay down, the Bramins put ſome rice in her lap, and alſo ſome into the mouth and on the long grey beard of her huſband: they then ſprinkled ſome water on the head, breaſt and feet of both, and tied them gently together round the middle with a ſlender bit of rope: they then raiſed, as it were, a little wall of wood lengthways on two ſides of the pile, ſo as to raiſe it above the level of the bodies; and then put croſs pieces, ſo as to prevent the billets of wood from preſſing on them: they then poured on the pile, above where the woman lay, a potful of ſomething that appeared to me to be oil; after this they heaped on more wood, to the height of about four feet above where the bodies were built in; ſo that all I now ſaw was a ſtack of fire-wood.

" One of the Bramins, I obſerved, ſtood at the end of the pile next the woman's head---was calling to her through the interſtices of the wood, and laughed ſeveral times during the converſation. Laſtly, they overſpread the pile with wet ſtraw, and tied it on with ropes.

" A Bramin then took a handful of ſtraw, which he ſet on fire at the little heap of burning cakes of cow-dung; and, ſtanding to windward of the pile, he let the wind drive the flame from the ſtraw till it catched the pile. Fortunately, at this inſtant,

ſtant, the wind roſe much higher than it had been any part of the day; and in an inſtant the flames pervaded the whole pile, and it burnt with great fury. I liſtened a few ſeconds, but could not diſtinguiſh any ſhrieks, which might perhaps be owing to my being then to windward. In a very few minutes, the pile became a heap of aſhes.

"During the whole time of this proceſs, which laſted from firſt to laſt above two hours before we loſt ſight of the woman by her being built up in the middle of the pile, I kept my eyes almoſt conſtantly upon her; and I declare to GOD that I could not perceive, either in her countenance or limbs, the leaſt trace of either horror, fear, or even heſitation: her countenance was perfectly compoſed and placid; and ſhe was not, I am poſitive, either intoxicated or ſtupified. From ſeveral circumſtances, I thought the Bramins exulted in this helliſh ſacrifice, and did not ſeem at all diſpleaſed that Europeans ſhould be witneſſes of it."

From Tanjore I proceeded to Negapatnam, which had been taken from the Dutch by the Company's troops, and where Mr. COCHRAN, an old friend of mine, was Chief.

The communication by land between Negapatnam and Madras being interrupted by the enemy's troops, I embarked in a veſſel, and proceeded thither by ſea---Major JOHNSTON, of the Engineers, being alſo a paſſenger.

LETTER

LETTER LXI.

HITHERTO every ſtep of my journey has been marked by occurrences ſo unexpected, and accidents ſo extraordinary, that I ſhould feel ſome repugnance to relate them, leſt my veracity ſhould be called in queſtion, were they not atteſted by ſo many living perſons of reſpectability, and by written documents of authority on record. Were one to conſider them merely as the offspring of fiction, they would perhaps have intereſt enough to catch the attention; but, viewing them as facts, they borrow, from their number and rapid ſucceſſion, as well as from their ſingularity, ſo much of the complexion of imaginary adventure, that the combination cannot, I think, fail to intereſt your mind as well as your feelings.

Arrived at Nagapatnam, within a ſhort run of Madras, it is natural for you to ſuppoſe that adventure was at an end, and that fortune, fatigued by the inceſſant exertion of her caprice, might have left me to proceed the ſhort reſidue of my way without further moleſtation. It fell out otherwiſe: ſhe had marked me as her game, and reſolved to worry me to the laſt monent; for, as

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we approached Madras, we were chaſed by a French frigate, and taken near Fort St. George.

This appeared to me the greateſt misfortune I had yet met with, and likely to be the moſt fatal in its conſequences. In order to explain this, I muſt recur to certain circumſtances, which, though I was informed of them ſince my releaſe from Hydernagur, I did not relate to you, becauſe they were no way connected with my narrative till now.

Monſieur SUFFREIN, the French Admiral, having a number of Britiſh priſoners in his poſſeſſion, whom he found it extremely inconvenient to ſupport, made a propoſal for an exchange---which, from ſome failure in the conveyance, or ambiguity in the terms of the correſpondence, was neglected.

The motives or accidents which gave riſe to this neglect have never been completely developed; and perhaps the Admiral himſelf, Sir EDWARD HUGHES, and Lord MACARTNEY, were the only perſons who knew the bottom of that tranſaction. In ſuch caſes, however, the ignorance of fact is generally ſupplied by conjecture; and men have preſumed to cenſure unequivocally on the mere hypothetical ſuggeſtions of their own imaginations. Candour, however, in ſuch a caſe, where it could not ſpeak with certainty, would ſpeak with caution. An Hiſtorian, particularly ſhould ſteer clear of party rancour, and not ſuffer the prejudice malignity which miſled himſelf, to go down to and miſlead poſterity. Where poſitive proof is wanting, if we are obliged to e-

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cide, we muſt judge by analogy and inference; and in the caſe now before us, we have little but the characters of the perſons concerned to guide us in our deciſion.

Of the horrid cataſtrophe which ſucceeded the neglect of exchanging priſoners, it is hardly poſſible that any one but Monſieur SUFFREIN himſelf could have had a conception. To ſuppoſe, that, under ſuch an impreſſion, our leading men would have heſitated to prevent it, would be to ſuppoſe their intellects weak, and their hearts corrupt and inhuman. I fancy it will be difficult to faſten on Lord MACARTNEY either the one or the other; for he was wiſe and humane: thoſe whom the diſappointment of unreaſonable expectations, or the malevolence of party, have induced to ſuſpect his Lordſhip's heart, have been forced by his conduct to revere his talents; and the breath of calumny has never touched the humanity of Sir EDWARD HUGHES. Whatever their motives, therefore, may have been---reaſon, conſcience, and candour, muſt acquit them of the conſequences. It ſhould be recollected, too, that Monſieur SUFFREIN's character was a very probable ſecurity, in the mind of men of ſenſe and honour, againſt any act of horrid inhumanity: his conduct as an Officer had made a new æra in the Naval Hiſtory of France: his talents and courage might be compared, without diſadvantage, to thoſe of the beſt of our Britiſh Admirals; and he had exhibited marks of uncommon generoſity to thoſe whom the chance of war had thrown into his hands. It would therefore have been

ſomething more than preſcience to have preſuppoſed what actually happened; and I declare moſt ſolemnly, that the inference I draw from the whole information I have had on the ſubject is, that, calamitous though the event was, it attaches no poſitive guilt on any of the parties concerned. The fact is plainly this: The French Admiral having no place on the coaſt where he could ſecure his priſoners, and grieving, as he himſelf ſubſequently wrote to Mr. HASTINGS, to ſee the unhappy men, who had been ſix or ſeven months at ſea, dying of the ſcurvy, delivered over the priſoners, to the number of above three hundred, to HYDER. Their fate afterwards was ſuch as it would harrow up your ſoul to hear related.

Take the whole of the circumſtances into one glance, and ſee what my feelings muſt have been on finding myſelf once more a priſoner. HYDER ALLI, who was, when compared with the worſt Deſpots of the European World, a monſter, muſt yet be conſidered, when put in compariſon with his ſucceſſor TIPPOO, mild and merciful. HYDER, from policy and hypocriſy, ſhewed ſome lenity to the priſoners who fell into his hands. Inſtances are known where Britiſh captives have broke through the crowd that ſurrounded him into his preſence for protection---when he has hypocritically feigned anger, threatened the perſons who had treated them ill, reprobated ſeverity, and ſent them off ſatisfied for the preſent. TIPPOO, on the contrary, was ſo perfectly ſavage, that cruelty ſeemed to be, not only the internal habit of

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his ſoul, but the guide of all his actions, the moving principle of his policy, the rule of his public conduct, and the ſource of his private gratification. Like the tyger which, BUFFON tells us, kills the whole flock before he begins to feed, every appetite of his yielded to the more urgent calls of barbarity; and while one drop of blood remained unſpilled, one agony uninflicted, one tear unſhed, the natural appetites of TIPPOO ſtood ſuſpended, and the luxuries of life courted his enjoyment in vain. Like the hyena which THOMPSON calls the felleſt of the fell, the fury of his nature was neither to be controuled by reſiſtance, nor aſſuaged by blandiſhments. Aloof from the general order of the workings of Providence, he ſtands a ſingle inſtance, in which the Omnipotent has preſented a glowing living picture, ALL SHADE: not one ray breaks in, to relieve the gloomy aſpect of the piece; but, diſtinct from the whole human race, of him alone it may be ſaid, that he never yet diſcloſed, even for a moment, one ſpark of virtue.

From barbarity ſo inflexible to thoſe taken in the ordinary chance of war, what could I expect if I fell again into his hands---I who had been the inſtrument of one of his chief Governors' defection---who had, by my negociations, contributed to deprive him of a Province, and, what perhaps might have had greater weight with him, robbed him of the gratification of a long harboured revenge, by putting his enemy HYAT SAHIB under the protection of the Company? Diabolical vengeance never perhaps met with a ſubject of ſuch ſublime enjoyment, as the torturing of

me would have been to this monſter. Couple this, then, my FREDERICK, with the fears of SUFFREIN's doing by me as he had already done by the other Engliſh priſoners---and gueſs what my terror and conſternation muſt have been at falling into the hands of the French!

Having ſtruck our colours to the French frigate, the Captain ordered us to follow her, and ſteered to the Northward. We obeyed him for ſome time: at length night fell; and, a freſh and favourable breeze fortunately aiding the attempt, we put about, ran for Madras, and luckily dropt anchor ſafely in the Roads. In the eſcapes I had hitherto had, there was always ſome diſagreeable circumſtance to alloy the pleaſure ariſing from them---In this inſtance, my joy was pure and unqualified; and I looked forward with a reaſonable hope that the worſt was all over.

Here I found Lord MACARTNEY Governor, ſtruggling to ſupport the credit of the Company, and directing their affairs through ſuch embarraſſments and difficulties as made the moſt wiſe and temperate deſpair of ſucceſs. So arduous an undertaking as the Government of Madras then was, has rarely occurred; and a more ſucceſsful final accompliſhment is not to be inſtanced. In the inceſſant conflicts to which he was expoſed, he maintained his poſt with inflexible firmneſs and unabated energy of mind---and, in the moſt trying circumſtances, diſcharged his important duty with zeal, integrity and wiſdom. The ſtrict diſcharge of the duty he owed to his Country, raiſed clamours againſt him among

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an intereſted few in India; but the united applauſes of all parties, on his return to England, ſtamped currency on his fame, and has broken the ſhafts of detraction.

LETTER LXII.

AFTER ſo many hazards and hardſhips as I had undergone, it was a moſt pleaſing reflection to find myſelf in a ſociety compoſed of my oldeſt profeſſional connections, and warmeſt and ſincereſt friends: but this was a happineſs I could not long enjoy; for, being charged with a miſſion from HYAT SAHIB to the Governor-General and Supreme Council, I was conſtrained to proceed to Bengal, and accordingly ſet ſail for Calcutta, which I reached in little more than a week, without encountering any accident, or meeting a ſingle occurrence, worth the relation. Upon my arrival there, Sir JOHN MACPHERSON, who was in the Supreme Council, gave me a kind invitation to live at his houſe, and preſented me to Mr. HASTINGS, with whom I entered into a negociation on behalf of HYAT SAHIB, which will appear by the following letters:

LETTER

LETTER TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

" *Calcutta, May* 3, 1783.

" HONOURABLE SIR,

Indiſpoſition has put it out of my power, ſince the firſt day after my arrival here, to have the honour of paying you my " reſpects, and of laying before you, for the information of the " Board, the objects of my miſſion to your ſuperintending Govern- " ment.

" As theſe objects are of public importance, and as ill health " may prevent me, for ſome time longer, from having the honour " of waiting upon you," I take the liberty to beg your attention to " this addreſs.

" The great Revolution in favour of the India Company upon " the Weſt ſide of India, and to which I had the happineſs of being " in ſome little degree inſtrumental, has been certainly brought about " by the zeal and ſpirit of General MATHEWS; but that Officer " aſcribes to the orders and ſupplies of your Government the " principal merit of the undertaking: he looks to the ſame Go- " vernment for ſupport in the arrangement which he has made, " and may make, for the ſecurity of the conquered Province.

" The hurry in which I left him, and his anxiety for my ſpeedy " communication of his ſucceſſes, gave no time for a formal commu- " nication to the Governor-General and Council, of the particulars

" of

" of his ſucceſſes, and of the arrangements which he wiſhed to
" be adopted. He wrote a ſhort account of the firſt to the Preſi-
" dency of Fort St. George; and gave me a public letter to the
" Commander in Chief of the Military Eſtabliſhment of that
" Preſidency to which I particularly belong, in atteſtation of the
" ſervices I rendered in the negociation between him and the Go-
" vernor of Bidanore, for the ſurrender of that Capital and Pro-
" vince. A copy of that letter I have the pleaſure to lay before you.

" As I was charged with a particular commiſſion from HYAT
" SAHIB, the Manager of the Bidanore Province, to the Gover-
" nor-General and Council, as appears by his letter, which I had
" the honour of preſenting to you, General MATHEWS gave me,
" in verbal inſtructions, and memorandums written in his own
" hand, the particulars of what he wiſhed me to repreſent to your
" Government: he gave me, beſides, ſhort notes of introduction
" to two of the Members of Government, whom he knew per-
" ſonally---referring them to me for an account of his ſituation,
" and allowing me, I believe, more credit than I deſerve, for the
" ſhare I had in contributing to his final acquiſition of Bidanore
" without drawing a ſword.

" It would be tedious, and more fit for the detail of converſa-
" tion than of a public addreſs, to inform you of the various ſteps
" that led to the ſurrender of the Capital and Province of Bida-
" nore. I had had ſeveral conferences with HYAT SAHIB before
" HYDER's death, and endeavoured to ſuggeſt to him the advan-

" tage

" tage which would ariſe to him from a revolt in favour of the
" Company. My efforts in theſe converſations ended ultimately
" in the moſt rigorous diſtreſs to myſelf: I was put in irons, and
" remained ſo for four months, in a ſituation only of exiſtence,
" without any hopes of ever eſcaping. When General MA-
" THEWS had ſtormed the Ghauts, HYAT SAHIB ſent for me,
" and, after various ſtruggles, and much indeciſion, agreed to
" my proceeding to the Engliſh camp; and I conducted General
" MATHEWS, almoſt unattended, into Bidanore. HYAT SAHIB
" at length agreed to ſubmit: but as, in his various converſations
" with me before and after that event, he made a very particular
" diſtinction between the Government of Bombay and the chief
" Government of the Engliſh in Indoſtan, ſo he propoſed that I
" ſhould immediately depart, after he had given up the place and
" all the forts of the Province, with a letter to you, to obtain
" your ſanction to me to his arrangements with the Engliſh Ge-
" neral.

" Theſe arrangements were not even clearly defined before my
" departure; and ſo anxious was he for my ſpeedy arrival at Cal-
" cutta, that he only gave me the general propoſitions that are
" contained in his letter.

" Permit me here to obſerve, that it is by the treatment
" which HYAT SAHIB meets with, that the other Chiefs of
" HYDER's Country will eſtimate the advantage of abandoning the
" intereſts of TIPPOO SAHIB, or will confirm their dependence

" upon

" upon him. TIPPOO was prevented by his father from all in-
" tercourſe with the Governors of his Provinces, or any inter-
" ference in country affairs; ſo that thoſe left in charge at his
" father's death are ſtrangers to him, and are men to whom he
" has little attachment. He is, beſides, conſidered to be of a cruel
" diſpoſition. † His father was cruel upon a political principle: he
" is thought to be ſo from nature.

" The unfortunate differences about money which aroſe in
" General MATHEWS's camp, and of which you will probably
" hear from the Preſidency of Bombay, took up much of the
" General's time, and may have retarded his operations: how-
" ever, his ſucceſs in the reduction of Mangalore gives a ſecurity
" to his conqueſts. The revenues of the Bidanore Province are
" about twenty lacks of pagodas per annum.

" The particular ſituation of the Capital merits attention. It
" is placed in a valley of conſiderable extent in circumference:
" according to the beſt obſervation I could make, there is an
" aſcent to it, from all ſides, of near ſeven miles: it can only be ap-
" proached by four roads, which are cut among the hills, and which
" were judiciouſly fortified with great pains by HYDER: woods,
" to the depth of many miles, are a frontier round its ſkirts; and
" where theſe admitted a paſſage, HYDER took the precaution to
" plant bamboos and thorns---ſo that I have little fear but that
" General MATHEWS will be able to defend theſe paſſes; and as
" for proviſions, and military ſtores of all kinds, that were found

" in Bidanore, of the latter particularly, what, according to Ge-
" neral MATHEWS's own declaration, would equip nine ſuch
" armies as his.

" Cundapore is the next ſea-port to Bidanore, and is diſtant
" about fifty miles: Mangalore is diſtant about a hundred miles.
" The road leading from Mangalore joins with that from Cunda-
" pore, where the aſcent of the hills commence: another road
" from Bidanore leads to Seringapatam, and a fourth into the
" Marhatta Country.

" It was from the lower Country, along the ſea-coaſt, be-
" tween Onore and Mangalore, which is watered by many
" rivers, and is the beſt cultivated Country I ever ſaw, that
" HYDER got the greateſt part of his proviſions for his army in
" the Carnatic; and, independent of the advantages which the
" Company have gained by the acquiſition of theſe Countries, the
" conſequent loſſes of the Myſoreans are immenſe, and ſuch as
" will diſable them from aſſiſting the French in the Carnatic.

" It becomes not an Officer of my rank to make any obſerv-
" ations that relate to the conduct of the different Governments
" of my Employers; but I am obliged to obſerve, in juſtice to
" HYAT SAHIB's declaration to me, that he will not rely upon
" any arrangement made in his favour by the Governor and
" Council of Bombay, unleſs he has a ſpeedy anſwer to his letter
" from this Government. He has requeſted me to return with
" that anſwer, and with the ſanction of the Governor-General

" to

" to the cowl given to him by General MATHEWS. Though I " am worn down by my ſufferings in priſon, and my health can " ſcarcely enable me to be carried by land, I am ready to under- " take this ſervice; for I know it is the greateſt I may ever have " it in my power to render to the Company and to my Country.

" My return to the other coaſt with a favourable anſwer to " HYAT SAHIB, will be the ſignal to other Chiefs to throw off the " yoke of TIPPOO; and if Colonel LONG has made any progreſs " in the Coimbatore Country, or that General MATHEWS has not " been too ſeverely preſſed by TIPPOO, I may arrive upon the " other coaſt in time to be of real uſe to the Company.

" I know, Honourable Sir, the liberal and great ſyſtem of your " adminiſtration: I will not, therefore, point out any little cir- " cumſtances about the footing upon which I ſhould return to " HYAT SAHIB, or remain upon the other coaſt. I wiſh only to " be rewarded by my Employers as I am ſucceſsful; and I ſhall " leave it to your goodneſs, and to your diſtinguiſhed zeal for " the public propriety, to give me any inſtructions for my con- " duct, or to charge me with any advices to General MATHEWS, " as you may think proper.

" I hope you will pardon this long and irregular addreſs, and " honour me by communicating any part of it that you may think " worthy of communication to the Gentlemen of the Council.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

" DONALD CAMPBELL."

 " *P. S.*

" *P. S.* When you are at leiſure, and I am able to have the " honour of attending you, I would wiſh to communicate to you " a more particular detail of my converſation with HYAT SAHIB--- " what General MATHEWS's hopes of ſupport from this Govern- " ment were, and the future plans he then meditated---and my " ideas of the meaſures that ſhould be purſued by the Preſidency " of Fort St. George, to ſupport General MATHEWS, and im- " prove the advantages he has gained.

" *To Warren Haſtings, Eſq.*
" *Governor-General of Bengal.*"

LETTER FROM HYAT SAHIB, ALLUDED TO IN THE FOREGOING.

(*Uſual Introduction.*)

" I have directed the affairs of the Soobeh of Hydernagur for " ſome years paſt, on the part of the NAVVAUB HYDER. When " lately attacked by the victorious forces of the Engliſh under the " command of General MATHEWS, I oppoſed him, and fulfilled " my duty in every reſpect; but ſeeing the ſuperior fortune and " force of the Engliſh, and receiving propoſals for peace from " General MATHEWS, by theſe circumſtances, but more eſpeci- " ally by the perſuaſions of Captain CAMPBELL, the ſon of Co- " lonel CAMPBELL, who was formerly at Chinaputtan, I was " induced to come to terms, and delivered up to General MA-

" THEWS

" THEWS the treaſury, property, ſtores and keys of the forts of
" this Country. If I had been diſpoſed, I had it in my power to
" have appropriated this collected wealth to other purpoſes; but,
" from a regard to the high fortune of the KING of ENGLAND,
" and the uprightneſs and integrity of the Engliſh People, I have
" included myſelf in the number of your ſervants, and have de-
" termined, with the utmoſt ſincerity and purity of heart, to
" ſerve you well and faithfully. By the bleſſing of GOD, under
" your auſpices, my endeavours towards the well and full per-
" formance of my duty ſhall be ten-fold greater than heretofore;
" and as General MATHEWS intends to proceed to Seringputtam,
" your loyal ſervant will aſſiſt, to the utmoſt of his ability and
" power. You will be fully informed on this ſubject by Captain
" CAMPBELL. Honour, and favour, and reward, muſt flow from
" you.

" From the time of your firſt eſtabliſhment in this Country to
" the preſent period, the engagements of the Engliſh have been
" ſacredly performed and adhered to; nor have they been want-
" ing in their protection of the honour and dignity of the Sur-
" dars of Bengal, and other places. I hope, from your favour
" and benevolence, that you will iſſue your commands to Gene-
" ral MATHEWS, to favour me with all due kindneſs and atten-
" tion. I have taken ſhelter under the ſhadow of your benevo-
" lence. Captain CAMPBELL has ſhewn me great kindneſs in
" this reſpect, and, by encouraging me to hope for your favour,

" has

" has led me to become your ſervant. You will be fully informed " of the ſtate of affairs in this quarter by Captain CAMPBELL's " letters.

" Written on the 25th of Suffur, A. H. 1197."

" A true copy,

" J. P. AURIOL, *Sec.*"

LETTER TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

" *Calcutta, May* 25, 1783.

" HONOURABLE SIR,

" Some time ago, I did myſelf the honour of writing to you, " on the ſubject of my miſſion from HYAT SAHIB to this Go- " vernment.

" It is with pleaſure I now underſtand that you have come to " the reſolution of ſending an anſwer to his letter. I cannot help " delivering it as my opinion, that a decided and avowed protec- " tion granted to him from this Government, will be productive " of great public utility: but ſhould you, and the other Gentle- " men of the Council, think proper to decline this, from motives " beſt known to yourſelves, and of which I ſhall not pretend to " judge, I beg leave humbly to repreſent, that the ſooner HYAT " SAHIB's letter is acknowledged, the more ſatisfactory it will be " to him, and the more efficacious in its probable good conſe- " quences.

" I

" I am ready and anxious to proceed immediately to the other " coaſt with the anſwer to HYAT SAHIB, and ſhall take the liber- " ty of hoping that you will give me inſtructions to remain ſome " time with him, that he may have an opportunity of tranſmit- " ting, through me, any communication that he may wiſh to " eſtabliſh with this Government. I have the pleaſure to inform " you, that that Preſidency to which I particularly belong, have " granted me their conſent to be employed in the final arrange- " ment of the Bidanore treaty, ſhould your Board think proper to " chooſe me as a fit perſon; and they have further unanimouſly " done me the honour to approve of my conduct in the commence- " ment of this buſineſs.

" With reſpect to the appoinments you may judge right to " allow me, I truſt entirely to your own ideas of propriety. I " wiſh for nothing more than what is ſufficient to defray the ex- " pences of ſuch a journey, and to enable me to maintain that " character in a ſituation of this kind which is requiſite to pro- " mote the public good.

" I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

" HONOURABLE SIR,

" Your moſt faithful and moſt obedient ſervant,

" DONALD CAMPBELL."

After

After ſome delay, I received inſtructions, together with a letter from Mr. HASTINGS for HYAT, with which I ſet off in order to deliver it into his own hands, as follows:

LETTER TO CAPTAIN DONALD CAMPBELL.

" SIR,

" I have it in command from the Honourable the Governor-
" General and Council, to tranſmit you the incloſed anſwer from
" the Governor-General to the letter which you brought from
" HYAT SAHIB, the Fouſdar of Bidanore, to this Government,
" upon the occaſion of his ſurrendering that Country to the
" Company. As you propoſe to return to Bidanore, the Board
" requeſt that you will deliver this anſwer in perſon to HYAT
" SAHIB, with aſſurances from them of every protection and
" ſupport which the eminent ſervices rendered by him to the
" Company give him ſo good a right to expect, and which they
" have it in their power to grant; and you will acquaint him,
" that they have further agreed to recommend him in ſuch terms
" to the Honourable the Court of Directors, as may encourage
" him to hope for every attention from their juſtice.

" Conſidering the great importance of the acquiſition of Bi-
" danore to the Company, its proportionable diſadvantage to
" the enemy, and the magnitude of the object to be obtained
" by holding out every poſſible incitement and encouragement

" to

to the Managers of the Mayſore Country, to throw off a new and " unſettled dependence on the enemy's Government, in order to " obtain a more ſecure and beneficial tenure from the Company's " poſſeſſion, the Board are the more readily inclined to afford this " early return to the advances of HYAT SAHIB, in the hope " that it will inſpire him with freſh confidence in the Engliſh " Government, and rivet his attachment to it.

" It will be at your option, either to return immediately with " HYAT SAHIB's anſwer to the Governor-General's letter, if you " ſhall deem it of ſufficient conſequence to require it, or to re- " main with him, if you conceive that your reſidence there for " any time will be more conducive to the public intereſts; but, " in either caſe, you are deſired to report the particulars of your " reception and proceedings to this Government, with any other " information which you may think it uſeful for them to know.

" I am, SIR,

" Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

" J. P. AURIOL, *Sec.*"

" *Fort William, May* 29, 1783."

It would be unpardonable in me to let this occaſion paſs, without expreſſing the high ſenſe I entertain of Mr. HASTINGS's politeneſs, and Sir JOHN MACPHERSON's kindneſs and hoſpitality, during my ſtay at Calcutta. As to Mr. HASTINGS, in his public

capacity, it would be preſumptuous and injudicious to ſay much, as he now ſtands for the judgment of the higheſt Tribunal in this Country. My own obſervation leads me to conſider him as a man of ſound, acute and brilliant talents, and of a vaſt and comprehenſive mind---of manners ſociable, amiable, meek and unaffected---and of a diſpoſition truly benevolent. His ſuperior knowledge of the political intereſts of Indoſtan, and particularly of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, has never been queſtioned; and, if the ſuffrage of the People of India may be allowed to decide, his conduct as Governor-General, though, like every thing human, intermixed with error, was, on the whole, great and laudable---for I declare I ſcarcely ever heard a man in India, Native or European, cenſure him, although he was often the ſubject of converſation with all perſons and in all companies in the Eaſt.

The ſocial virtues of Sir JOHN MACPHERSON are ſo well known, that it would be ſuperfluous to notice them. The ſame friendſhip and hoſpitality I experienced in his houſe, has be ſhared by many, who are not backward in doing him ample juſt on that head. But his conduct during his ſhort adminiſtra can be known only by thoſe who make the political concern India a ſubject of ſtudious attention. To enter into a detai his various wiſe regulations for the reſtoration of the Company's affairs, would be deſtructive of the end I propoſe, which is, by a conciſe and ſimple ſummary of the whole, to render a fair picture

of

of his adminiſtration ſo clear as to be underſtood by any perſon, however ignorant he may be of the politics of that Country, and ſo brief as not to diſcourage the reading of it.

Sir JOHN MACPHERSON took the reins of Government into his hands on the firſt of February, 1785. He found the Company's revenues diminiſhed, and their expenditure increaſed, by the continual claims of Proprietors, Directors, and Miniſters, to a ſhare in the patronage of Mr. HASTINGS---and a public debt accumulating to an enormous amount. He therefore ſaw the neceſſity of putting in practice every expedient poſſible, and trying every experiment that the ſtate of the Country ſuggeſted, as likely to promote an increaſe of the revenue, a diminution of the public expenditure, and a liquidation of the debt. He, therefore, on the fourteenth day of his adminiſtration, commenced a reform, which he continued with indefatigable zeal and induſtry to introduce through the various departments of Government---and, beginning with himſelf, diſcharged his body-guards. While he was thus employed in India, the Company and Parliament in England were unremittingly engaged in conſidering and molding into ſhape a ſyſtem of reform alſo; and, extraordinary as it may appear, the fact is, that the ſagacity of Mr. MACPHERSON had adopted by anticipation, and actually reduced to practice, the identical ſpeculative reforms which the Parliament and Company were proceeding upon in England; and the general plan of reform which paſſed the Court of Directors on the eleventh of

April, 1785, had been actually carried into execution by Sir JOHN MACPHERSON in Bengal, in the months of February, March and April, 1785. He made arrangements for the diffuſion of knowledge---eſtabliſhed the ſettlement of Pulo Penang, or Prince of Wales's Iſland---ſettled the Bank of Calcutta on a firm baſis---regulated the markets---and, by a plan of his own conception, ſecured the Company from the accuſtomed fraudulent compoſitions with Zemindars, by bonding their balances, and making the bonds cancelable only by the Court of Directors. In fine, he introduced and carried into effect a ſyſtem of reform which had a moſt ſudden and ſalutary effect on the Britiſh affairs in India; and in an adminiſtration of only eighteen months, he had the felicity to perceive the fruits of his wiſdom and induſtry maturing---to receive that beſt of earthly rewards, the eſteem and applauſe of his Fellow-citizens---and to be honoured by the beſt of Sovereigns with the dignity of a Baronet.

While I was at Sir JOHN MACPHERSON's houſe, I happened, in converſation one day with Mr. MACAULEY, Sir JOHN's Secretary, to be talking over ſome part of my adventures; and found to my aſtoniſhment, that he had, in his route to India, accidentally hired the very ſervant whom I had loſt at Trieſte by ſending him for letters to Venice; and Mr. MACAULEY aſſured me, that he found him poſſeſſed of all the good qualities I had expected to meet in him: but the poor fellow had died before my arrival at Calcutta, to my great mortification and diſappointment.

A,

As the ſeaſon in which I was to leave Calcutta was very unfavourable for a voyage by ſea, and the coaſt thereabouts is one of the moſt inhoſpitable in the world, I ſet off by land for Madras, and in my way had an opportunity of ſurveying that curious and groteſque monument of ſuperſtitious folly, called the Jagranaut Pagoda. It is an immenſe, barbarous ſtructure, of a kind of pyramidal form, embelliſhed with devices cut in ſtone-work, not more ſingular than diſguſting. Chriſtian Idolators, in forming types and figures of divine beings, always endeavour to repreſent them with perſonal beauty, as proportionate to their divine nature as human ſkill can make it. Thoſe Pagans, on the contrary, in forming their idols, caſt out every veſtige of beauty---every thing that, by the conſent of Mankind, is ſuppoſed to convey pleaſing ſenſations; and, in their place, ſubſtitute the moſt extravagant, unnatural deformity, the moſt loathſome naſtineſs, the moſt diſguſting obſcenity. It is not in language to convey an adequate idea of their temples and idols; and if it was, no purpoſe could be anſwered by it, only the excitement of painful and abominable ſenſations. To keep pace with the figures of their idols, a chief Bramin, by ſome accurſed artificial means, (by herbs, I believe), has brought to a moſt unnatural form, and enormous dimenſions, that which decency forbids me to mention; and the pure and ſpotleſs women, who from infancy have been ſhut up from the ſight of men, even of their brothers, are brought to

to kiſs this diſguſting and misſhapen monſter, under the p[illegible] poſterous belief that it promotes fecundity.

In this Pagoda ſtands the figure of Jagranaut, (their god under Brama); and a ſightly figure it is truly!---nothing more than a black ſtone, in an irregular pyramidal form, having two rich diamonds in the top by way of eyes, and a noſe and mouth painted red. For this god, five hundred Prieſts are daily employed in boiling food, which, as he ſeldom eats it, they doubtleſs convert to their own uſe in the evening.

I ſtopped at Vizagapatnam for a few days with Mr. RUSSEL, who was Chief of that place. His ſtyle of living was ſo exactly ſimilar to that of an elegant family reſiding at their country-houſe in England, that I felt myſelf more happy and comfortable than I had been ſince my arrival in India; and that happineſs was much increaſed by meeting Mr. MAXTON, who was married to Mr. RUSSEL's daughter. This Gentleman and I had, when mere boys, been ſhipmates on our firſt going out to India: a warm friendſhip took place between us, which has met with no interruption, but rather increaſed from lapſe of time, and greater habits of intimacy. To ſee a man whom I ſo entirely eſteemed, in poſſeſſion of the moſt perfect domeſtic felicity, and ſurrounded by a number of amiable connections and friends, was to me a ſubject of the moſt pleaſing contemplation.

LETTER

LETTER LXIII.

LEAVING Vizagapatnam, I took my route along the coaſt, and arrived at Maſulipatam, where I heard rumours of the unfortunate fate of General MATHEWS. This threw ſuch a damp upon my ſpirits, that all the hoſpitality and kindneſs of Mr. DANIEL, the Chief, could ſcarcely raiſe me from deſpondence; and on my arrival at Madras, I found the whole amply confirmed.

As HYAT SAHIB's affair yet remained unſettled, and I conſidered myſelf in a degree pledged to obtain him ſome ſatisfaction for his ſervices in ſurrendering the Province of Bidanore, and to fulfil my engagements with him and the Supreme Council, I determined to proceed to Bombay, notwithſtanding the diſaſter of General MATHEWS, which had entirely cruſhed all my private proſpects in that quarter, and to co-operate with HYAT SAHIB in ſuch meaſures as might yet remain to us for promoting the public good. I left Madras, therefore, and proſecuted my journey without any material interruption until I reached Palamcotah, where the chagrin ariſing from my various diſappointments, co-operating with fatigue and climate, threw me into a fit of ſickneſs, which confined me

to

to my bed for five or ſix weeks. Upon recovering a little I crawled on to Anjengo, where, at the houſe of Mr. HUTCHINSON the Reſident, (who treated me with cordial kindneſs), I waited for an opportunity of getting to Bombay, and during that time laid in a ſtock of ſtrength and ſpirits: at length a Europe ſhip touching at Anjengo on her way to Bombay, I obtained a paſſage, and proceeded.

At Bombay I found HYAT SAHIB, it having been deemed expedient to ſend him away from Bidanore on the approach of TIPPOO with his army, where I received from him a confirmation of what I have ſtated reſpecting General MATHEWS receiving only two lacks of rupees and a necklace. And now, as peace was negociating between us and TIPPOO, and my remaining on the Malabar coaſt could be of little uſe, I determined to return to the Carnatic. And here I have an incident to add to the many diſagreeable occurrences of my life, in which, with intentions the moſt innocent, I was made the ſubject of obloquy and unmerited ſcandal.

Juſt at the time I was leaving Bombay, a young Lady, the daughter of a perſon formerly of high rank in India, and now a Member of Parliament, but whoſe name it would be uſeleſs to mention, wiſhed to return to the Carnatic; and I, at the requeſt of herſelf, and another Lady with whom ſhe lived, unguardedly took charge of her during the journey. Before our departure, I reflected upon the difficulties and impropriety of this ſtep, and com-

communicated my ideas to the Ladies, who, inſtead of liſtening to the objections I ſtarted, preſſed me to fulfil my promiſe: I conſented, purely from principles of politeneſs and good-nature. During the courſe of our journey, ſhe unfolded to me, of her own accord, certain acts of cruelty and injuſtice ſhe had ſuffered from her father, at the inſtigation of her *mother-in-law*, with a ſtory of her innocence having fallen, and her reputation having been deſtroyed, by a connection of the Lady under whoſe charge ſhe was, and who for that reaſon had preſſed her departure with me; and added, ſhe was ſo diſguſted with India, that ſhe determined to quit it; and entreated me to aſſiſt her in the accompliſhment of her wiſhes. I diſapproved, in the moſt unqualified terms, of her project---gave her the beſt and moſt diſintereſted advice---and, through the whole diſagreeable buſineſs which was impoſed upon me, acted merely with a view to her honour and happineſs; and ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable people in Palamcotah, where ſhe paſſed ſome time, and at Madras, where ſhe afterwards reſided, could atteſt the delicacy of my conduct towards her, as well as the concern and intereſt I took in every thing that was likely to be of advantage to her.

This is a fair ſtatement of the matter; and yet, on account of it, I was moſt infamouſly ſcandalized; and the ſcandal reached even the ears of my father, whom, however, I ſoon ſatisfied on that head. But that which ſtung me to the quick was the conduct of ſome of my own relations, (who, if they even could not

juſtify or approve, ought at leaſt to have been ſilent), in becoming the moſt virulent of my detractors---though, when the character of thoſe very relations had on former occaſions been reflected upon, I ſtood up and defended them at the imminent hazard of my life. Such conduct appeared to me moſt atrocious; for, whether from affection, ſelfiſhneſs, or pride, I always ſtrenuouſly ſupported my relations, if I heard them traduced in their abſence---and, when I was not able to juſtify their proceedings, at leaſt ſuppreſſed the converſation. To a man who had uniformly acted ſo, were there even no reciprocation of family affection, mutual juſtice demanded different treatment from that I experienced, which could have ſprung only from depravity of heart, poverty of intellect, and the moſt abject meanneſs of ſpirit. And what is remarkable on this, as well as on other occaſions, thoſe who had been under the greateſt obligation to my father and myſelf, were the moſt inveterate.

On the death of my father, looking over his papers in the preſence of the Deputy Sheriff of Argyll, and three other Gentlemen, we met with a letter on the ſubject from the young Lady's father to mine, reflecting in a groſs manner on my character. I directly wrote to that Gentleman, explaining the whole affair, and demanding juſtice to be done to my reputation. Upon an eccleireciſſement of the matter, he wrote to me a complete apology, acknowledging that he had acted on that occaſion through miſrepreſentation, and had too eaſily given credit to ill-founded reports; and

ſaying,

ſaying, that as the letter in queſtion had, by the peruſal of the Deputy Sheriff and other Gentlemen, in ſome meaſure become a matter of public notoriety, he thought it incumbent on him to make that apology, and to expreſs his ſincere regret for any detriment I might have ſuſtained, by his yielding unguardedly to a ſudden impulſe of paſſion, cauſed, as he was then perfectly convinced, by miſinformation.

Thus was my character at once cleared of a calumny which the induſtrious villany of a few had contrived to propagate through every ſpot of the earth where I was known.

This ſtory may ſerve as an inſtructive leſſon to you, my FREDERICK, to avoid, in the very firſt inſtance, any connection with women that in the probable courſe of things can lead to private acts of confidence: they are at beſt indiſcreet---tend, as in this caſe, to make a man a dupe---and never fail to lead to ſcandal and reproach. You will alſo, from the letter of the Lady's father, found eight or ten years after it was written among my father's papers, ſee the impropriety and hazard of committing your thoughts incautiouſly to paper. I have known it frequently, as in this inſtance, end in mortification and regret.

Before quitting entirely the Malabar coaſt, I took a trip to Surat, which amply repaid me for my trouble. It ſurpaſſes any part of India for extent and variety of commerce, for populous ſtreets and ſuburbs, and for a continually moving ſcene of opulence.

For a more minute account of it, I refer you to the Abbé RAYNAL, who, though not generally accurate, is ſo elegant, that you will be able, from his deſcription, to form a lively conception of the place, and its ſingular cuſtoms.

Here I was received in a very friendly manner by Mr. SETON. And indeed I may now once for all declare, that at every place where I ſtopped, and every poſt I paſſed, from my leaving England till my return, I experienced the moſt kind and liberal reception, and the moſt aſſiduous attention: my wants of every kind, whether of veſſels, boats, guards of Sepoys, letters of introduction, &c. being ſupplied by anticipation, I had ſcarcely occaſion to make a requeſt, or expreſs a wiſh; nor was the attention ſhewn to the public ſervice leſs than that which was manifeſted for my private convenience. To kindneſs ſo truly conſolatory as it then was to me, I never look back without ſentiments of unbounded gratitude and unfeigned acknowledgment.

My journeys by land in India after my ſhipwreck, independent of long voyages by ſea, amounted to more than three thouſand miles. After getting back to Madras, my health being materially injured, I reſolved to return to England: but, having ſeen almoſt all the Company's poſſeſſions, I felt a curioſity to ſee China, and determined to make that my way. To render this route more agreeable to me, Lord MACARTNEY, in addition to his other favours, gave me the following handſome letter of introduction

troduction to Mr. PIGOU, the Company's chief Supercargo at Canton:

" *Fort St. George, July* 23, 1784.

" SIR,

" This letter will be dilivered to you by Captain DONALD " CAMPBELL, of this Eſtabliſhment---a Gentleman who has ſig- " nalized himſelf on many occaſions, but more particularly by " his ability and addreſs in accompliſhing the ſurrender of the " fort of Bidanore, at which place he had been long a priſoner. " His ill ſtate of health contracted there, renders a voyage to " China, perhaps to Europe, abſolutely neceſſary. Should he " remain any time at your Settlement, I ſhall be much obliged " to you for any attention and civility ſhewn to him; and I ſhall " be happy, on any occaſion you may afford me, of returning " your polite attention to an Officer of ſo much merit as Captain " CAMPBELL, and of proving how much I am,

" SIR,

" Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

" MACARTNEY."

" *To William Henry Pigou, Eſq.*

I had alſo a letter to Mr. FREEMAN, another Supercargo there; by whom, as well as by Mr. PIGOU, I was treated with great politeneſs: and Mr. FREEMAN being obliged to leave Canton, and

and go to Macao, for the recovery of his health, invited me to accompany him there. I availed myſelf of the opportunity; and, as we went all along through the rivers, had an opportunity of ſeeing more of the Country than many of the Europeans who viſit that Country. With the obſervations which I made in the courſe of this excurſion and my reſidence at Canton, I would furniſh you, but that Lord MACARTNEY's Embaſſy is juſt returned from that Country; and there is every reaſon to hope that he, or ſome of the Gentlemen who attended him, and who poſſeſs ſuperior abilities and more ample materials, will favour the Public with a much more perfect account than mine could poſſibly be.

While I remained at Canton, a very diſagreeable rupture took place between the Factory and the Chineſe. An Engliſh ſhip lying at Wampoa, in ſaluting, ſhattered a Chineſe boat; by which accident, two men in it were much hurt with the ſplinters, and one of them died of his wounds ſoon after. The matter was clearly explained to the Mandarins; and they ſeemed to be ſatisfied that it was merely an accident. A few days after, the Supercargo of the ſhip was forcibly ſeized, and carried into the city: the Council met, and determined to ſend for the Sailors from the ſhips; and in the evening after dark, fifteen or ſixteen boats, with four or five hundred men, attempted, in an irregular manner, to come up to Canton---were fired upon by the Chineſe boats and forts in paſſing, and, with a few men wounded, were compelled to retreat. Nothing could ſurpaſs the conſternation and indeciſion of the Council:

Council; and after the moſt humiliating language, they were obliged to appeaſe the Chineſe, and ſettle the affair by giving up the gunner of the ſhip to their reſentment.

On the 29th December, 1784, I embarked in the Ponſborne Eaſt-Indiaman, Captain HAMMET, in which I had come from Madras to China; and, after a tolerable voyage of five months and two days, got on board a fiſhing-boat off Falmouth, and was put on ſhore there, having been exactly four years and five days from England.

Such was my impatience to ſee you, that I wrote from Falmouth for you to meet me at Bath. We arrived there the ſame day; and never in my life did I experience ſuch tranſport as in firſt preſſing you to my boſom: I found you all that my heart could wiſh; and I muſt, in juſtice to my opinion, aver, that not one action of your life has tended ſince to give me a moment's pain: on the contrary, I have every reaſon to be ſatisfied that my ſanguine hopes of you will be realized. The turn of your thoughts and actions have been vigilantly watched and cloſely examined by me; and from your affection to myſelf and your mother, your gentle deportment to my domeſtics, your frankneſs and candour with your brother and ſchool-fellows---even from your fondneſs for your favourite dog *Pompey*, and frequent ſilent contemplations of the etchings of his countenance, I have drawn the moſt pleaſing preſages of purity and innocence of heart, ſweetneſs of temper, and refined honour and generoſity. If it pleaſes GOD to ſpare

your

your life, and ſtrengthen your conſtitution, I ſhall ſtill be the happieſt of men, notwithſtanding the inroad made upon my feelings by the hardſhips and afflictions I had undergone, of which many aroſe from unavoidable accident, and ſome from malignant and unnatural perſecution, ariſing from baſe envy, dictated by cowardly revenge. I do not wiſh you to know who the wretches are. I only wiſh you to know that ſuch deteſtable paſſions do exiſt in human nature---that, warned by their wickedneſs to me, you may, in your progreſs through life, be cautious, temperate and guarded.

Another thing I am anxious to impreſs upon the mind, particularly, of your brother JOHN, is the danger of a warm, impetuous temper. Many of the hazards and difficulties of my life aroſe from the predominance of a fiery ſpirit, and an ungovernable, miſtaken ambition. A ſingle inſtance will ſerve to ſhew it. When I was under the command of Captain, afterwards General MATHEWS, in his regiment of Cavalry, being cantoned at a place called Tuckolam, in the neighbourhood of extenſive woods, information was brought us that wild bulls infeſted the neighbouring villages, and had killed ſome people: we prepared to enter the wood, and deſtroy, if poſſible, thoſe ferocious animals, which had become the terror and deſtruction of the contiguous country. The origin of thoſe wild herds was this---From time immemorial, a religious cuſtom had prevailed among the Pagan inhabitants, of offering a calf to the wood upon the accompliſhment of

any

any favourite purpoſe, ſuch as the ſafe delivery of his wife, or the obtaining an employment, &c. In proceſs of time, thoſe calves bred, and became numerous and incredibly fierce. Independent of protecting the defenceleſs natives, it was in itſelf a moſt intereſting kind of hunting. The mode of doing it was this---A large party, well mounted, galloping in a body up to a great flock, and marking out the fierceſt champion of the whole, attacked him with ſwords and piſtols. One day, a bull which was wounded, and thereby rendered more fierce, though not leſs vigorous, got poſted in ſome thick buſhes, in ſuch a manner as to be approached only in front: a whim of the moſt extravagant kind came into my head, ſuggeſted by vain-glory and youthful fire---I thought it ungenerous for ſo many to attack him at once; and, wiſhing to have the credit of ſubduing him, I diſmounted from my horſe, and attacked him with a pike: I ſoon, however, had cauſe to repent this raſh and unwarrantable ſtep; it had nearly been fatal to me---for the bull ſoon threw the pike into the air, and, had it not been for the very gallant exertions of my Brother Officers, who rode in upon him, and reſcued me at the moment that the brute's horns had touched my coat, I muſt have been killed. An Indian Officer, who was in my troop, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the imminent hazard of his life, the bull having toſſed his horſe and himſelf to a diſtance from his horns. At this time I was but eighteen years of age, and had not the judgment to reflect, that

if I had been killed, my fate would be attended with only pity or ſcorn for my folly; whereas, had I ſucceeded, the whole reward of my danger would have been the uſeleſs applauſe of ſome youngſters, idle and inconſiderate as myſelf---while my raſhneſs would have been reprobated by every man whoſe good opinion was worth enjoying. One or two people who were preſent at the time, are now living in great repute in England. We ſucceeded, however, in driving thoſe wild cattle into the interior receſſes of the wood, dividing the fleſh of thoſe we killed among ſuch of the poor Sepoys as would eat it, and thereby rendered eſſential ſervice to the contiguous villages.

Often when I have heard, in coffee-houſes and play-houſes, ſome of our ſporting ſparks boaſting of their proweſs over a timid hare or a feeble fox, I could not help recollecting with reſpect the hunters of India, who chaſe the deſtructive monſters of the foreſt---the boar, the tyger, the hyena, the bull, or the buffalo; and, while they ſteel the nerves, animate the courage, and, by habitual deeds of pith, fit themſelves for war, render eſſential ſervice to their fellow-creatures, and ſave the lives and property of thouſands. Such greatneſs of ſpirit, under the controul of good ſenſe, and the direction of prudence, muſt render a man reſpectable---but, if not managed with diſcretion, leaves a man no other praiſe than that of a magnanimous madman. Take every opportunity, my dear FREDERICK, of inculcating theſe

precepts

precepts in the mind of your brother: the natural warmth of his temper often makes me fearful of the miſchievous conſequences which I have myſelf too often experienced---though, I thank GOD, it never ſtimulated me to revenge, or to a premeditate intention of injuring any one.

I have already ſaid more than once, that I have a moſt perfect conviction your amiable diſpoſition will enſure to you the love of Mankind; but it will at the ſame time ſubject you to many impoſitions---to guard againſt which, a great ſhare of ſternneſs is ſometimes neceſſary: there is, beſides, a certain degree of fortitude abſolutely requiſite to give luſtre to a gentle diſpoſition; without it, meekneſs is thought timidity---modeſty, weakneſs---and the charming mildneſs of the forgiving heart, abuſed as the pitiful reſource of abject apprehenſion and a mean ſpirit. There are times, therefore, when the wickedneſs of men, and the cuſtoms of the world, make it neceſſary to lay aſide the lamb, and aſſume the lion. EUROPE at this moment preſents an awful and alarming criſis. In a neighbouring Country, the conduct of the higher claſſes of ſociety has produced a dreadful convulſion: ſocial order has been ſubverted, and the ſtability of property annihilated: all reaſoning from the hiſtory of former times is found inapplicable to the preſent: the ſyſtem of warfare itſelf has undergone a revolution; and no man is able to ſay from poſitive inference, "Thus will it be to-morrow." Our inſular ſituation, thank GOD! pro-

teſts us: and the precarious footing upon which civil order and property ſtand in moſt Countries on the Continent, make our ſtate in England enviable. The time is nevertheleſs pregnant with extraordinary event; and you are now approaching that age at which men ſhould be ready to act at the call of their Country. It is therefore fitting for you to make ſuch things the ſubject of frequent contemplation---to habituate your mind to the meeting of danger, ſo as to be ready, at a moment's warning, to lay down your life, if neceſſary, for the good of your Country; for, after all, my FREDERICK, what avails it whether we die in this way or in that?---to die with honour and a good conſcience, is all. Let prejudice be laid aſide---and who, poſſeſſed of common ſenſe, could heſitate a moment to prefer death in the field, to death with the loathſome aggravation of ſickneſs, the crocodile tears of pretended friends, and the painful emotions and lamentations of thoſe who really love us?

Finally, I muſt obſerve, that at the time I left India, the affairs of the Britiſh Nation wore ſo very lowering an aſpect, all perſons acquainted with our concerns there, allowed nothing but a long ſeries of wiſe meaſures, with the beſt efficient ſervants to execute them, could reſcue the Company from ruin. I am happy in being able now to ſtate, without the poſſibility of contradiction, that the clouds which menaced us in that quarter have ſince been gradually diſſipating beneath the meaſures of the BOARD

of CONTROUL, under the direction of Mr. DUNDAS; and are at laſt entirely diſperſed by the glorious adminiſtration of Lord CORNWALLIS, whoſe wiſdom in the Cabinet tended no leſs to the ſecurity, than his military talents, juſtice and moderation, to the honour, of GREAT BRITAIN in the Eaſt. The choice of ſuch a perſon for the Government of India, reflects credit on HIS MAJESTY's Councils, and evinces that the paternal care and ſolicitude of our amiable SOVEREIGN extend to the moſt remote part of the Empire.

END OF PART III.

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